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They perhaps wished to "have a day of it," instead of which they had *three* days.

Carlier was therefore an enemy of the Préfecture, which he wished to deprive of its power. I saw at once that this secret police would bring back the old system of espionage.

They endeavoured to circulate calumniatory reports against me in the different *corps de garde*, and among the people. I acquired the certainty that this hostility emanated from the Hôtel de Ville, where my ultra-republican principles were often the subject of criticism and denunciation. I redoubled my zeal and activity, so as to leave no loop-hole for slander.

The Republic, in fact, was already in danger. From every side my agents informed me that the royalists entertained great hopes of turning the elections in their favour. The most absurd stories were bandied about respecting the patriot candidates. The accounts from the provinces spoke of reactionary movements, and even the members of the Provisional Government were not spared. They were styled "drinkers of blood," and promoters of

Causeries

AN

SECRET HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

MEMOIRS

OF

CITIZEN CAUSSIDIERE,

EX-PREFECT OF POLICE, AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE.

"It is for slaves to lie, and for freemen to speak truth."—MONTAIGNE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

OF

CITIZEN CAUSSIDIERE.

PART II.

FROM THE 16TH APRIL TO THE 29TH AUGUST.

National Guards were everywhere hastening to the depôt of arms of each separate legion, affirming that they were aware that the communists proposed making a general conflagration, and putting every one to the sword, and that the Provisional Government was surrounded at the Hôtel de Ville.

The Republican Guard and the Montagnards were confined to their barracks. I was exasperated at the idea of being held responsible for this Saturnalia of muskets, without a cause, and for a moment I entertained the idea of placing myself at the head of a strong patrol, to call the inhabitants to order in an energetic proclamation. This was the more practicable, as every moment the patriots of the different quarters came to tell me that their companies were ready to follow my instructions.

That day I had forty thousand men ready to do whatever I might bid them, but the Government left me half the day without informing me of its intentions.

I was told that the National Guard were on the track of Blanqui, and that it was also their intention to proceed to the house of M.

Cabet, either to arrest him or to pillage his house.

Blanqui, as usual, was *non inventus*. I despatched a reinforcement to M. Melchthal, the Commissary of Police of the *quartier* inhabited by M. Cabet, with express injunctions to protect that citizen and his domicile, with all the means at his disposal, within the limits of the law.

Happily no such deplorable attempt was to be regretted.

Generals Courtais and Duvivier passed the 1st Legion in review. General Courtais ,who had given the order to beat the rappel, thanked them, adding that their zeal had exceeded his intentions, and that all he had desired was to call together a small number of armed citizens. The mayors of some of the arrondissements had also caused the rappel to be beaten without orders, and the Government thought fit to rebuke them in the following proclamation.

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.—LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

"Considering that a call to arms without a

cause is likely to excite disorder in the city and to alarm the public, and that it is detrimental to commerce, labour, and industry, by fatiguing the National Guard;

"The Provisional Government expressly orders, that the rappel be not beaten in Paris without special orders from the Minister of the Interior, or from the Mayor of Paris, and, in exceptional cases, by the mayor of the respective arrondissements.

"Any contravention of this order will be severely punished."

In the evening the Boulevards were in a state of agitation. Men in blouses were pursued and arrested by National Guards, on the pretext that they were communists. Some of them were brought to the police office, without any other warrant for their arrest than the caprice or malignity of their enemies. I examined some of these men in the presence of their captors, and I can affirm that there was no grave motive whatever to justify their arrest. Flotte was one of them, though he afterwards endeavoured to deny it. He told me that he

approached a group who were reading a placard, when some National Guards ordered them, in a brutal manner, to disperse, and that having asserted his right to remain he was arrested. I set him at liberty at once.

The reports of numerous patrols quieted my anxiety as to the consequences of these acts of aggression, but they did not fail to leave a moral effect. The fusion which it was so desirable to establish, was far less attainable than before. The citizens in blouses had discovered that they had enemies in those that wore cloth coats. The fraternal compact, if not torn in half, was at least becoming more and more disregarded.

I am not a communist, that is to say, I do not subscribe to all their immediate theories, but I cannot help saying, that on this occasion injustice was done them. The persecutions to which they were exposed, only served to increase their number.

The name of communist was applied to every devoted republican. According to the reactionists, they were drinkers of blood, and ought to be swept from society: they were accused of

culpable intentions, and yet the most ardent democrats hailed with enthusiasm the abolition of capital punishment; and the respect shown for property is the best answer that can be given to those misapplied calumnies.

But these social discords of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April, at the same time that they procured for the Provisional Government the assistance of the National Guard, made them also aware of the sullen discontent that reigned amongst the masses. The 16th of April was a surprise; and many of the legions who marched past the Hôtel de Ville would have refused to turn their weapons againt the workmen, whose distrust and anxiety they shared.

The Government felt that it was necessary to conciliate the working population by some means favourable to the people, and the two following decrees were placarded all over Paris, which the National Assembly lost no time in revoking.

"In the Name of the French People.

"The Provisional Government,

"Considering that the subsistance of the

people ought to be one of the first cares of the Republic,

"That above all things it is necessary to diminish the price of articles of food, which add to the strength of the workman, decrees:

"Art. I. At Paris the tax on butcher's meat is abolished.

"Art. II. The tax is to be substituted by,

"1. A special and progressive tax on proprietors and lodgers, paying 800 francs rent and upwards.

"2. By a tax on private carriages, on dogs, and on men servants, where there is more than one man servant in a family.

"Art. III. The Minister of Finance is authorized to apply these measures, with the shortest possible delay, to the country towns.

"Art. IV. The Minister of Finance and the Mayor of Paris are charged with the execution of this decree.

"Given in a Council of the Government, at Paris, on the 18th of April, 1848."

The Provisional Government,

"Considering that the tax on liquors weighs heavily on certain qualities of wines: that this tax imposes 100 per cent. on the original value of the usual beverage of the workmen, whilst the tax on fine wines is only 5 or 10 per cent.,

"Decrees:

"The Minister of Finance, and the Mayor of Paris, are to present, with the shortest possible delay, a regulation modifying the tax on wines; these regulations are to be based upon the principle of proportionate equality proclaimed above, its object being to place a healthy and nourishing beverage within reach of the workman, and to punish severely any attempt to dilute the quality.

"Given at Paris, in the Council of the Government, on the 18th April, 1848."

At the same time, the permanency of the magistrature was declared incompatible with a republican form of Government, and many magistrates, high in office, were relieved of

their duties, and placed on the retired list, with a number of colonels and officers of the staff. But the faithful servants of royalty, the Dupins, the Bugeauds, and men of the like stamp, were left untouched.

This lasted for a few days only, and was only obtained by the threat of resigning, on the part of certain members of the Government, who felt themselves compromised by the majority of their colleagues.

Thus, curiously enough, the most direful day for the republic was that on which the most popular measures were realized. But it proved after all but a new act of hypocrisy, which cost but little to the faction of the Hôtel de Ville, for they were working all the time to stay the revolution.

It is said that Louis XVI., on the very day he took the solemn oath of fidelity to the French constitution, conspired with the *emigrés;* it will be shown hereafter that members of the Provisional Government were conspiring with the royalists on the very day when, instigated by prudential fears,

they put their sign manual to revolutionary decrees, which they afterwards voted to annul, and which, in fact, have been since cancelled.

CHAPTER IV.

Signs of fresh disturbances—Arming of Paris—The small arsenal of the Préfecture—The fire brigade and the men of the Halle—Night patrols—General Courtais—The Luxembourg and the Tournon barracks—Plot against the Government—The distribution of fire-arms—Opinion of the English on the National Guards—Civil war—Down with the guns——Law and history—The pretenders—Political education—The Council of Ministers—Private ambition—Universal suffrage—Popularity and decorations—Organisation of the National Guard—Reduction of the army—Return of confidence—Association—The shopkeepers—Purchases and sales—Rags and the baker—The Mont de Piété—The children hungry—Bread for two days—The palace and the garret—The dreams of the *bourgeois*—A patriotic government necessary for a great people.

After these recent shocks, all the old questions revived. Hitherto the confidence of the people, the good understanding between all classes of the citizens, had been guarantees

for the public safety. After the excitement of April, every one was taking precautions against the disasters which every one foresaw.

Although the Government had already distributed an immense number of muskets, it was found difficult to satisfy all the demands of the citizens who required arms. I myself found it necessary to establish a small arsenal at the Préfecture, that I might be prepared to repel any sudden attack. I obtained some thousand rounds of cartridges and muskets for the service of the fire-brigade in case of emergency, whose leaders promised me their instant assistance. The barracks of the fire-brigade are contiguous to the Préfecture.

A word from me would have brought to my assistance some hundreds of determined fellows from the Halle, or Corn Exchange. I had a plan drawn up of the Préfecture; it is very open to attack; but with due military precautions, and a good garrison, it would be a formidable post. At night regular patrols went their rounds both inside and outside. General Courtais and the Minister, Ledru Rollin, on their night inspections, never found

our vigilance relaxed; in times of revolution, it is always indispensable to have a certain number ready to act at a moment's notice.

The Luxembourg also entertained some fears. I sent there a detachment of devoted volunteers, and I reinforced the Tournon barracks, which adjoin that palace, so that it might be ready to render efficient assistance in case of need.

It was there that the councils of the Provisional Government were chiefly held, and one hundred resolute men might have carried them off without resistance. It was, therefore, necessary to entrust the dictators of February to the care of the revolutionists themselves.

Without designating any one in particular, I may mention that information, on which I could confidently rely, was conveyed to me that a plot was on foot to seize all the members of the Government. I caused the parties in question to be strictly watched.

The Hôtel de Ville was likewise placed on a war footing. The royalists called it *la ribotte des fusils*.

Our neighbours across the Channel cannot understand the institution of the National Guard. They are of opinion that a wise Government should disband it entirely, and entrust the safety of the capital to a standing army within the walls. Besides the great number of troops that such a system would render necessary, the people, if they thought themselves justified in bringing about a revolution, would find arms some how or the other, and everything would be made use of as a means of attack. A horrible civil war would be the result, which would terminate only when there were no more combatants. Cause the acts of the Government to be in accordance with the general will, and you may lock up your muskets without fear of disturbances.

A reactionary Government will always fear the exactions of the people; but those who are acquainted with the practical common sense of the working classes, know that they are always satisfied with the fulfilment of the promises that are made to them, and that they would always be disposed to give their enthu-

siastic support to a power whose moderation taught it to consider itself only as the instrument of the interests of all.

To this end the President ought not to be anything more than the first agent of the public opinion of the country. If he should prove dishonest or incapable, his authority should be withdrawn from him without more ado.

To entrust one man with the government of all the others is the surest way to encourage an attempt upon their liberty.

These truths are every-day truths, and they cannot be repeated too often, or known too extensively. Let citizens accustom themselves to place the law above everything else, and history would not have to record any more continuous massacres for this or that pretender.

Compulsory and gratuitous education would produce a race of men endowed with common sense. Every young citizen should be made acquainted with the laws that maintain the common rights of his country.

The departments should send in their report to the Assembly, whose duty it should be to

analyse them, and submit them to the vote of the Council of Ministers. This council should choose a President from their own body, without any supremacy over his colleagues, and these might organize the means for carrying into execution the decrees he should propose for the sanction of the Assembly.

I am only repeating here the recommendation of men of integrity, who wish to see a stop put to the intrigues set on foot by private ambition. Will this result he obtained without once more having recourse to violence? Let us hope so.

The people ought to regard universal suffrage as their real lever; they ought to study well the character of every candidate who presents himself to obtain their confidence: as yet they have but a distant glimpse of the science of socialism. They cannot be too much on their guard against the fine speeches showered upon them. This reliance upon their own power would prevent many future miscalculations.

The people's esteem is the most noble of all recompenses. Beware of according it rashly, as has been the case with decorations.

At the time of which we are writing, there

were two hundred and fifty thousand armed citizens inscribed upon the lists of the National Guard. It would have been desirable to have had them all in uniform. The more wealthy of each company should have contributed a certain sum to provide uniforms for those who could not afford them. Harmony, so necessary to social order, would have been a gainer by it, and all jealous rivalry would have disappeared.

With a well organized National Guard, a reserve of five or six thousand men would have sufficed in Paris for extra service. The army might have been reduced one-third at least. This would have been a saving of a hundred and fifty millions to the state, which could have applied that sum in the cultivation of waste lands, and by so doing have relieved the over-crowded population of the towns. Where then could violence have found its strength to work with? With no outbreak there would have been no anxiety. The alarmists deprived of a pretext to heighten the terrors of the merchant, activity would have been restored to commerce; and gradually that confidence which every one invoked, but which fear despaired of seeing,

would have returned naturally, and of its own accord.

On the other hand, whilst preparing a constitution on a broader basis than that they have patched up for us, it was the duty of the Government at the same time to facilitate the association of the working classes; and if some intermediaries had been displaced by this industrial movement, at all events it would not have prevented them from enjoying a hearty dinner.

Put the question to thirty thousand Paris shop-keepers, they will say that the discount and monopoly of the great houses ruined them before February. To-day they complain that they cannot sell their goods. But how comes it that sales are put a stop to? Who are their customers? Their real customers, are they, or should they not be, the people? Is it not the masses who determine the great movements in trade? But at present our people are famished and go about in rags and tatters that their centime may go to the baker's.

If in these impoverished dwellings there still remains a garment or a bed-quilt, it is not long before a poor woman may be seen entering

timidly, with tears in her eyes, into the shop of some money-lender of the *Mont de Piété.* This man unrolls the bundle and asks:—

"How much do you ask upon it?"

"Give me ten francs."

The money-lender pushes away the bundle from him, and replies:—

"We are overdone with old clothing, we cannot advance you more than forty sous upon it."

The poor woman entreats for five francs at least, alleging that it is still quite good, and that it cost twenty-five francs when new. It is in vain,—the judgment has been pronounced.

She then folds up her bundle, and retires, but after going a few paces, she recollects that her children are hungry, and that she has nothing to give them. She returns, and takes the forty sous of piety!

She will be able to procure bread for two days.

Paris can boast of many splendid palaces, but many fearful garrets.

Whilst the poor man is abstemious from necessity, the rich man draws in his expenses, and hoards up his capital. The shop-keeper

sees his rent-day approaching, and his bills fall due. He also has his sufferings. If he sleeps for a moment he dreams of bankruptcy. But the selfishness of the *bourgeois* prevails. Instead of complying with the claims of his customers, the workmen, he recriminates and rallies round his patrons, the bankers, to stifle the voice of justice. He does not perceive that he is firing upon his own class; he grows choleric, and talks of powder and shot. Doubtless he would be quite justified in defending himself, if the workmen threatened to pillage his shop, but as yet, whatever may have been said to the contrary, out of one hundred workmen, ninety-nine would be found ready to wreak summary justice upon any wretch who should take advantage of an insurrection to resort to pillage, or to exercise his revenge.

These reflections are not altogether beside my subject. I was placed in a position that enabled me to study the political ideas and the acts of the working classes, and without being blind to faults which are to be attributed to a want of education, I may say that all the most generous sentiments are inherent in their nature;

and with such a people what great things might not an intelligent and a patriotic Government effect?

Let us remember who it was that came first to place his offering on the altar of our country.

It was the workman. It was also the workman who was the first to shed his blood upon the barricades of the Republic.

CHAPTER V.

La *Révue Rétrospective*—The secret societies of 1838—The insurrection of May—Blanqui and Taschereau—Court of Inquiry—Barbès, Martin Bernard, Raisan, Lamieussens—Blanqui's protest—M. Carlier's police—Conspiracy of Blanqui's *Seïds*—Attempt to assassinate me during the night—Warrant of arrest against Blanqui—Lamartine refuses to sign it—The Commissary of Police and Blanqui's body-guard—Dormes the head of the conspiracy—Fear of a struggle with the Montagnards—Eleven at night—The mutineers—The revolt put down—Dormes is arrested—The St. Victor barracks—The black sheep—The purification of the ranks of the Montagnards.

THE *Révue Rétrospective* published early in March a denunciation of the secret societies of 1838, with an account of their ramifications.

and the part they acted in the events of May. This report, attributed to Blanqui, caused great excitement amongst the patriots. A court of inquiry was instituted to investigate the affair. I was called upon to tell whether it was I who had given this document to M. Taschereau. I repeated what I told Blanqui the evening before, when he came to put a similar question to me, that I was completely ignorant of the existence of this document, which had been found in the portfolio of the Minister of the Interior. The hand-writing was not Blanqui's. It was afterwards ascertained that the document had been copied by a certain Lalande, an ex-Secretary of the Chamber of Peers, who for the last three years had been living in retirement in the country. The various occupations of all the members of the committee prevented them from thoroughly investigating this affair, but every one was convinced that Blanqui alone had made those revelations, whilst under sentence of death.

Citizens Barbès, Martin Bernard, Raisan, and Lamieussens, affirmed that those details

could only have been communicated by him; and that the description of the characters of the different members was precisely the same as that drawn by Blanqui in his confidential moments, to each of them.

Blanqui loudly protested his innocence, and hurled insults upon, and accused his enemies of calumny. But he did not succeed in clearing himself, and men doubted his integrity. He nevertheless retained some fanatic and devoted partisans.

I must say, that the researches I had made in the archives, with a view of throwing some light upon this mysterious business, led to no result.

For some reason, moreover,—and up to the present moment I am ignorant wherefore,—I, with many other democrats, was an object of hatred to him.

He succeeded in smuggling some of his partisans into the Préfecture, to entice my Montagnards to his club, and to endeavour to tempt them to insubordination.

Many of these new comers were down upon

the police list as old offenders, or as individuals who had belonged to the old police.

A certain Sieur Dormes, who, after the evacuation of the Tuileries, had entered my troop with some thirty others, was specially attached to M. Carlier's police. He recruited so-called barricade men, and was the *Seïde* of Blanqui.

I soon discovered that this band of traitors had hatched a plot, which was to break out during the night.

They were to enter my chamber while I was asleep and murder me in bed; they were then to seize upon the arms in the Préfecture; and counting upon friends outside, were to proclaim an insurrection. Some accomplices in the Hôtel de Ville were to act in a similar manner there.

This project was modified. They knew that I always had arms near my person, and they feared resistance. As I always retired very late to rest, it was agreed that a deputation should wait upon me during the night, and put me to death with their daggers.

I thought this was carrying the joke too far.

I had their movements watched by those who revealed the plot to me, but with the intention of stifling it before it got wind.

I received at this time a visit from Colonel Rey, the commandant of the Hôtel de Ville. I told him to be on his guard, and he replied that he anticipated an attack.

I had been ordered by the Government to have Blanqui arrested. The signatures of Louis Blanc and Albert, who were absent, were wanting to the warrant. M. Lamartine positively refused to put his name to it.

A little later the Government withdrew the order for the arrest of Blanqui, and M. Landrin, the Procureur of the Republic, informed me of this step, by the following letter:—

"My dear Caussidiere,

"The Government, on the receipt of my letter, sent for me, and informed me that they could not authorize the arrest: I therefore

pocketed the compliment, and thus we are relieved of all responsibility.

"I wrote according to the terms agreed upon; they requested me to keep a careful eye upon suspicious characters.

"'That is Caussidière's business,' I replied, and he will not fail to do his duty.

"*Salut, Fraternité,*

"LANDRIN.

"*3rd May*, 1848."

I intrusted the execution of the warrant to the Commissary of Police, Bistoglio. He proceeded with four of his men to the house occupied by Blanqui. He left two in the alley leading to it, and placed two on the staircase. After knocking at the door of the room, he was admitted into an ante-chamber, in which there were some twenty armed individuals, who eyed him suspiciously from head to foot. He saw at once that it was impossible to execute the warrant; and he withdrew after exchanging a few common-place remarks with Blanqui. Fresh measures were resorted to for his arrest, and

he was strictly watched. But that night he slept out, and redoubled his precautions against surprise.

In making a report of his mission, Bertoglio told me that he recognized Dormes, the Montagnard chief, amongst Blanqui's guard.

That very evening, as soon as he returned to the Préfecture, I sent five men to arrest him. He appealed to his men, who would not allow him to be made a prisoner, and who seized their weapons, threatening to destroy everything with fire and sword, and to blow up the Préfecture. The majority of the Montagnards also seized their weapons, and a sanguinary struggle was about to take place, when I was informed of what was going on.

It was eleven o'clock at night. The insurgents had intrenched themselves in the back part of a dark court-yard; I told my men to stand aside, and breathless with indignation I walked into the very midst of the mutineers.

"I am aware," I said, "that you have conspired against me; which of you is it that purpose assassinating me during the night? Here

I am at their mercy. You are all armed, and against whom? You entered this service the last, and you wish to lay down the law! You are the mere tools of disorder. Are you eager to deserve the name of brigands, which your enemies give you? I shall not give up to the tribunals those who entertain evil designs, but you shall quit the Préfecture; I shall purify the ranks, and Dormes shall sleep this night in prison."

The majority, perceiving that things had gone too far, gathered around me. Dormes, with great effrontery, denied his guilt, and intreated to be left this night only with his comrades. He promised to surrender himself a prisoner on the morrow.

I made them lay down their arms, and the night was passed in watching, but without noise.

On the following morning Dormes attempted to leave the Préfecture, when I had him arrested.

I then assembled the chiefs of the Montagnards, and ordered them to retire to the barracks of St. Victor, where they were to purge

their ranks, by turning out the bad characters whom they had too easily permitted to creep in amongst them.

They left the Préfecture during the day, to the number of four hundred, leaving only a guard of thirty men on duty.

At this time I received the following letter from Ledru Rollin.

"Paris, 19 April, 1848, Midnight.

"My dear Caussidiere,

"I have this moment been told by Albert, who has just left a Montagnard, in whom he places implicit confidence, that the men you ordered to leave the Préfecture in the course of the day, purpose making some attack during the night. They displayed a number of cartridges, which they say they are disposed to make use of.

"Albert looks upon this as certain; I do not believe it; but, by way of precaution, it would be as well to inquire into it, and to take your measures, by having the barracks strictly watched.

"Should you stand in need of reinforcements, drop me a line at once, and I will send some of the *Garde Mobile*, who may be relied upon.

"I repeat I do not believe the story, but Albert is so convinced of the veracity of his informant, that I must neglect no precautions.

"The attack is to be on the Préfecture and on the Hôtel de Ville.

"Good night,—as usual, not to sleep.—Ah! Saint Just was right!

"Tout à vous,

"LEDRU ROLLIN."

For two months the Montagnards never left me. I had always, as much as possible, given ear to their requests when they appeared just, and had rejected firmly what I regarded as unreasonable. They left the Préfecture with regret, but the more sagacious amongst them saw the necessity of this departure; at the same time, they promised me to turn out from amongst them all the black sheep, as they expressed it.

After two days they returned, having dismissed eighty of their former comrades, and they had not increased their number when they were disbanded, which event took plack on the 16th of May.

CHAPTER VI.

The Fête of Fraternity—The 20th April—Distribution of flags—Electric influence of the multitude—Recollections of my father—Fears of agitation—Insurgent projects—Precaution and prudence—I leave on horseback, at the head of the Republican Guard—The platform of the triumphal arch—Impressions of M. Lamartine—The warrant for the arrest of Blanqui is cancelled—Sarcasms of M. Marrast—The staff of the Government—A bevy of elegant women—Aspect of the Champs Elysées—Spring and the lilacs—Flowers and ribbons at the point of the bayonet—Review of the whole capital—Colonel Barbès—The army to the Republic!—Long life to the wounded of February!—The filing off by torchlight—Four hundred thousand soldiers—Improvisation of Ledru Rollin—Concord and Fraternity—Paris at midnight—What has become of the Republic?

THE distribution of flags was the most brilliant day in the annals of the young Republic.

On that day, the 20th April, all the citizens that met together for that solemnity were brothers, and all became subject to that irresis-

tible magnetism which influences great multitudes, and all with equal enthusiasm hailed the daybreak of the Republican Government.

Notwithstanding my ardent wishes for order and the union of all Frenchmen, I did not dare to hope for so glorious a result. It will remain engraven upon my mind as long as life lasts,—that day which renewed my confidence, and which proved to me how the love of humanity elevates man, and causes all the nobler feelings of an immortal soul to expand within him.

On the morning of that memorable day I was low in spirits, weary, and sad; in the evening I could have relinquished life without regret. I could have said, "*Vidi*—I HAVE SEEN!"

Oh, my father! if the hand of death had spared thee only a few months longer, and allowed thee to be present at this grand spectacle of fraternity thou wouldst have forgotten thy life of long-enduring misery and suffering for the sacred cause of the people!

This recompense was due to thee, and oh! how deeply did I regret thy absence!

Noble blood tells! Thou who wast ushered into the world, and held for Christian baptism by royal hands*; thou who didst receive the names of two princes, who promised thee their protection, and vowed to serve thee in default of thy family;—thou didst afterwards prefer to follow the bent of thine own persuasions, and to enter the service of the Republic. The campaigns of Italy and of Egypt were the field of thy valour and thy glory. The latter part of thy life was spent in honest obscurity. Thy last words when I pressed thee to my heart,—my voice choked with sobs,—were prayers for the Republic. This recollection of thy noble sentiments will make me redouble my efforts to become a better man, and to aspire to thy elevated virtues.

This digression, prompted by my heart, will be pardoned, but it was the moment most congenial to my feelings to connect the memory of my father with the recollection of this memorable day.

* My grandfather was attached to the Embassy of Vienna; my father was held at the baptismal font by the Archduke John Ferdinand of Austria and the Empress Beatrice.

The low spirits and the depression I felt in the morning, were not without a cause.

The ill-omened reports spread the evening before had not ceased. For instance, it was asserted that certain agitators purposed taking advantage of the day's proceedings to create disorder in the ranks of the citizens, and to seize upon the Hôtel de Ville and the Préfecture of Police. Others proposed shouting, "Down with Louis Blanc! Down with Ledru Rollin!" who was accused of the most contradictory acts, and especially "Down with the Socialists," as was the case on the 16th April.

These large assemblages were always a cause of alarm to me, and I never failed to take such precautions as prudence dictated. A strong detachment was placed within the Préfecture, and men stationed at regular distances kept up a continual line of communication with me at the triumphal arch at the Barrière de l'Etoile.

At seven o'clock in the morning, all the companies of the Republican Guard and of the Montagnards assembled at the Préfecture. We left early to place ourselves at the head of the

column that was to commence filing off from the triumphal arch.

I was on horseback, with Colonel Mercier on my right hand, and surrounded by a staff of officers of the Republican Guard.

Notwithstanding the many things I had to attend to, a feeling of happiness and pride came over me; and when I arrived at the head of a body of men, whose martial appearance excited universal admiration, before the members of the Provisional Government, who were seated on the platform in front of the triumphal arch, I was too much overcome to address a few words of sympathy to them, as I had intended.

The heart-stirring shout "*Vive la République!*" from every man of my troop, and a military salute with my sabre was my only demonstration.

I drew up on the right hand of the amphitheatre, and established a line of troops, both horse and foot, to keep back the crowd, who, upon this occasion, had not to complain of the rough usage and knocks from the butt-ends of

the muskets of the men, with which they were regaled under the monarchy.

The rain which in the morning had threatened to deprive the fête of some of its splendour, ceased, and the sky brightened. The sun soon burst forth in all its glory, and reflected its joyful rays on the myriads of bayonets which covered the avenue of the Champs Elysées.

Having received the most satisfactory reports of order and tranquillity, I determined to enjoy the *coup d'œil* from the platform, where the Members of the Provisional Government were assembled.

On expressing my satisfaction to M. Lamartine at a solemnity so reassuring for the destinies of the Republic and its future safety, he replied:

"You may be sure that the character of this immense manifestation is favourable to property and order."

It was on this occasion that he, and some other members of the Provisional Government, requested me to cancel the warrant for the

arrest of Blanqui. "The patriotic unanimity of the day," he added, "will cause the men who entertain evil designs, to pause."

"I am of opinion," I replied, "that it will have an excellent effect both upon internal and external enemies."

I learnt afterwards that the reports of the different Ambassadors were conclusive as to the maintenance of peace and amicable relations with the Republic.

The members of the Provisional Government appeared pleased and moved by this imposing festival. One of them alone seemed terribly bored. It was M. Marrast, who gave vent to his impatience in sarcastic expressions which I shall abstain from repeating.

All around us, thrown, as it were, together into one mass, were the wounded of February, the decorated of July, the emancipated political prisoners, the staff of the army, numerous deputations from the magisterial body, the different administrations, and other services of the State. Close behind us an amphitheatre, arranged so as to be on a level with the vaulted archway, was thronged with ladies elegantly

dressed, and who had been presented with bouquets of flowers.

But the most magnificent spectacle was that immense avenue spread out before us, with its fringe of lofty trees, already covered with the first leaves of Spring. As far as the eye could reach, from the Barrière de l'Etoile, to the Tuileries, there was one mass of armed men, and bayonets glancing in the sunshine, in the midst of a close, compact, and moving mass of human beings. Dense columns of men advanced regularly towards the triumphal arch, filing off before it with military precision, in two lines, one to the right, the other to the left, after saluting the Republic and its representatives. The branches of the trees were bending under the weight of men and children, who had transformed them into boxes and galleries. Bouquets of flowers, branches of trees, ribbons and lilac, floated merrily at the point of the bayonet; there was a movement of life, without tumult; blouses and coats of every colour were intermingled with uniforms; costumes of every description of armed and unarmed citizens; children and women, the whole population,

every class of society, came and went to and fro, shouting with enthusiasm, "*Vive la République!*" It was, so to speak, a review of the entire capital, a simultaneous rising of the whole French people, to hail the Republic.

The *Moniteur* has noted down some remarkable incidents, amongst others, the following:

"The 12th Legion, commanded by Barbès, had taken the lead of all the other legions of Paris, as being the most distant from the spot where this magnificent scene took place. The Colonel on horseback spurred forward, amidst universal applause, and addressed the Provisional Government as follows:

"'If the Legion I have the honour to command is the last number on the list, you may be sure it will not be the last in the defence of the Republic.' This speech was hailed by the multitude with the most unbounded enthusiasm.

"The Colonel of the 49th Legion in passing before the platform, saluted with his sword the Provisional Government, and exclaimed: 'The

army to the Republic,' and the people clapped their hands."

When the wounded of February filed off with their flag, many of them still suffering from their wounds, those heroic and painful marks of their patriotism, and wearing the grey over-coat of the invalid, the Provisional Government, greatly moved, rose to a man, and the people, no less affected, shouted, "Long life to the wounded of February!"

The distribution of the flags took place at the commencement of the review, to the different companies of engineers, pompiers, marine, cavalry, infantry, national guard, to the wounded of February, &c., &c. The filing off commenced at ten in the morning, and when night set in it had not terminated. Thousands of torches, and a brilliant illumination, now added additional splendour to the fête; the rays of light glanced like sparks from the steel bayonets, and in the distance lofty shadows vanished into the darkness, of hundreds of thousands of men, who were still succeeded by others, advancing with a rapid and firm step, and saluting as they passed, the members

of the Provisional Government, who still sat upon the platform, amidst the glaring light of a thousand torches.

The *Moniteur* calculates that at the very least four hundred thousand armed men filed off before the Provisional Government. Never, in the annals of history, has so mighty an armed multitude displayed its ranks in so limited a space, on so short a notice, and with so much order, as on this occasion. Never did the capital of a great people make so colossal and so re-assuring a demonstration. It bore the aspect of one immense family, armed all, and all actuated by the most profound and fraternal sympathy.

At ten at night the last column passed before the triumphal arch. Some of the members of the Government had already retired.

As soon as the review was over, the Montagnards and the Republican Guard formed into rank, and gave up their position to the River National Guard, to escort the Minister of the Interior to his hotel.

The cortège advanced by torchlight, preceded by the orchestra of the *Gymnase Drama-*

tique, playing patriotic airs, the cadences of which were caught up and sung by all present.

On arriving in the court-yard of the Minister, M. Ledru Rollin addressed the citizens, in an inspiriting extempore discourse, calling upon them to maintain harmony and fraternity.

In my turn I was escorted to the Préfecture, where I expressed my thanks to my patriotic men, enjoining them to be prudent and active in the fulfilment of their duties, that by so doing they might gain the affections of the people.

At midnight the city, still illuminated, retired to rest with a sense of security, and a happy augury of the future. What have they done since then with the popular Republic, and with the revolution of February!

We await a reply from the Provisional Government, from the Executive Commission, from the National Assembly, from Cavaignac the dictator, and his ministers!

CHAPTER VII.

The 23rd April—Commencement of the Elections—Various surmises—Alarm of the royalists—The audacious, the skilful, and the cowardly—Declarations of principles—MM. Billault, Dufaure, Dupin, Barrot, Thiers—Intrigues in the Provinces—The new trinity: *L'Ordre, la Famille, la Propriété*—Morality of the Monarchy—Social reforms—Communism and the country—Circulars of the Minister of the Interior—The Bulletin of the Republic, No. 16. — George Sand — The false national representations — Agitated state of Paris—The Clubs and their candidates—Deaf-and-dumb candidate—Unity of the *bourgeoisie*—The *Constitutionnel*, the *Siècle*, and the *National*—The false workmen—Popular committees—The Luxembourg and the *Club des Clubs*—Negligence of plebeians—The elections of June and of September—Louis Blanc on the 27th—Electoral frauds—Proclamation of the 23rd April—The thirty-four deputies of Paris—Lamartine and Lamennais—I receive 133,779 votes—Compliments and bouquets.

THE Provisional Government had fixed the 23rd of April for the commencement of the general elections. The result of this, the first

application of universal suffrage, was a source of anxiety to all parties, and it was impossible to form a notion as to what proportion of Conservatives and Republicans would come out of this lottery,—for so it might be called.

The royalists, greatly alarmed at first, did not dare to present themselves for a time, and seemed to acknowledge that to organize a Republic, it was necessary to be, or to appear, republican. The more enterprising gradually entered the lists; they were followed by the skilful, and even the most timid who had hidden their heads since their cowardice in February, now came forward. The public was regaled with deprecatory and hypocritical declarations of principles, from MM. Billaut, Lasteyrie, Dupin, Barrot, and even from M. Thiers. We looked upon it as a good joke at the time, and were far from fearing the influence of coteries that had been so recently overthrown.

The rich, however, the men of capital, the landed proprietors, and Abbés, were acting in concert with them in the provinces, and misled public opinion by every species of calumny. The impudent falsehoods inserted in their jour-

nals in Paris, and in the Departments, are still fresh in the memories of all. From all quarters the reactionists exclaimed, "Communism and anarchy," to alarm the waverers, and to rally them round the pretended friends of order. It was then that they invented that famous new trinity, designed to replace the formula of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They assumed that *L'Ordre, la Famille, la Propriété*, were menaced by the Republic, and that they had their defenders in the men of the old régime. Precious order, indeed, was that maintained by the monarchy! What an edifying morality was visible in the families of the rich! And how the right of property was respected in France! What decency in the population! Truly, the man must be mad who should ask for social reforms!

The Republic,—and a Republic can alone guarantee lasting order, a family worthy of respect, and legitimate property,—the Republic, the object of which is, to render universal the principles of *la Famille*, and *la Propriété*, was thus attacked with its own weapons, and the *bourgeois* succeeded so well with their hypo-

critical tactics, that a sort of panic seized upon the middling classes, and the population of the provinces. The peasants consequently voted for their lords, the workmen for their employers, the poor for the rich. The small tradesmen voted for the bankers, all the small proprietors for the usurers, and the masters gained the votes of those upon whose labour they lived.

The list of the electors for the Departments contained the names of all the members of the old monarchical chamber, with the addition of some millionaires and bishops.

The Minister of the Interior, who saw as from a tower, all these intrigues of the counter-revolutionists, addressed various energetic circulars to his agents, which have been severely criticised by the royalist press; for instance, the famous "*Bulletin de la République,*" compiled by George Sand, and which contained the following passage:

"Eighteen years of falsehood oppose obstacles to the system of truth, which human breath cannot dispel, or sully. The elections, if they do not inaugurate the triumph of social truth,

if they are but an expression of the interests of a class, extorted from the confiding loyalty of the people,—the election which ought to be the redemption of the Republic, will be its ruin, there can be no doubt of it. Only one resource will in that case be left to the people who erected the barricades; and that will be, to manifest its will a second time, and to adjourn the decision of a false national representation."

The excitement in Paris greatly exceeded that in the provinces. The clubs of every shade of political opinion issued their lists, and called upon the different candidates to declare their opinions. The walls were covered with hand-bills, and millions of addresses to electors were distributed in the streets. The name of the candidates was legion; and a collection of the various declarations of principles would form a most curious volume, suggestive of the diversity of the human mind. They were all of course good patriots, but each had special claims of his own to the confidence of his fellow citizens. The claims of some were founded upon the merits of their fathers, or of their

sons, on their riches, or on their poverty; on their ignorance, or on their knowledge; most of them on the particular trade or profession to which they were attached. Generals wished to represent the army, advocates the law; there was even a deaf and dumb man who demanded the suffrages of his fellow citizens that he might speak by signs to the Constituent Assembly.

But in the midst of this rush of competitors, the *bourgeoisie* observed a certain unity of action. The Conservative journals, for instance, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Siècle*, and the *National*, which last had now become ministerial, agreed upon one common list, consisting of the old deputies of Paris, of the moderate portion of the Provisional Government, some false workmen, a sprinkling of generals, and one or two Abbés.

The people on the other hand organized committees for the election of democratic candidates. The delegates of the workmen, at a meeting at the Luxembourg, and the *Club des Clubs*, moved and carried by acclamation, a list consisting of the four members of the

Government, Louis Blanc, Albert, Ledru Rollin, and Flocon; the Prefect of Police Caussidière, Pierre Leroux, Barbès, Thoré, Raspail, Proudhon, and some twenty workmen of different trades.

But many of the former electors neglected to inscribe their names at the different municipalities, and to exercise their right of voting. The democrats and the socialists had not yet established that imposing unity of action which ensured them success in the elections of June and of September; accordingly the *Constitutionnel*, the *Siècle*, and the *National* returned their candidates almost to a man, whilst Louis Blanc, whose popularity was very great, was the twenty-seventh on the list.

God knows what excitement and agitation was not set on foot by the electionary leaders; manœuvres and deceptions were resorted to to the last. For example, in some of the Mairies tickets of the franchise were distributed to all comers, and were sold at the gates. I felt it was my duty to put a stop to such scandalous proceedings, which were nothing more nor less than so many attempts to corrupt the elections.

In a proclamation I issued on the 23rd of April there is the following passage.

"Every man should be made aware of the disastrous consequences which may result from a false national representation; the voice of the people must be the voice of God; political opinions should stand forth pure and unsullied from this scandalous traffic, which under the late régime influenced the votes, even of the privileged classes.

"In the name, and for the sake of the glory and happiness of the republican people, let it not be thus; let the free French people crush under the moral weight of its integrity, those men who wish to tamper with its sacred rights, so that regenerated France may, by her example, incite the civilized world to adopt her institutions.

"At all events, measures have been taken to discover any fraud, and justice shall punish the crime which public opinion most abhors; an attempt against the sovereignty of the people by insidious means, which the instigators to them dare not openly attack."

The classification of the votes in the different

arrondissements of Paris, kept for some days the public mind in a state of excitement, as to the probable result.

On the 29th of April, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the thirty-four representatives of Paris were proclaimed. The name at the head of the list was that of M. Lamartine, with 252,800 votes; M. Lamennais, the last on the list, numbered 104,871.

The names of forty-nine candidates were then proclaimed, as having obtained the greatest number of suffrages after the thirty-four elected.

As a democrat, and as a magistrate, my name was down on various lists; 133,779 votes returned me the twentieth, as a representative of the greatest nation of the world.

That day I was besieged with congratulations, and nearly smothered under the bouquets I received. The Montagnards, the Republican Guard, the Fire Brigade, each came in turn to testify its fraternal affection for me. The employés of the Préfecture added also their congratulations.

It is the duty of every person in office to gain the affection of his subordinates. His

dignity never suffers when he shows an affable condescension. Some acts of kindness and courtesy will obtain for him respect and obedience, when the time comes that difficult duties are to be performed.

Many persons who called upon me, said they had abstained from giving me their votes, lest I should prefer the National Assembly to the Préfecture of Police.

After such friendly demonstrations, how could I do otherwise than redouble my zeal and application in the performance of my duties? Not to have done so would have argued a total want of heart and honourable feeling.

CHAPTER VIII.

Result of the elections in the departments—The democrats and the reactionists—Calumnies and anonymous letters—Royalist agents—With gold—To the Seine with the National Assembly—Reports of the clubs—Proclamation of the Prefect—Visit of M. Lamartine—Composition of a new Government—Ledru Rollin and Flocon—Opinion of M. Lamartine—1,500,000 votes—Interview of the three candidates—Hatred and ambition—The palace of the National Assembly—The new Hall—The fire brigade—General Courtais—The National Guard and the Garde Républicaine.

THE elections were carried on peaceably, without creating any disturbance or excitement in the capital. If any agitation did exist it was mental. This outward appearance of tranquillity, however, did not last till the opening of the National Assembly.

The result of the elections in the departments aroused the indignation of all the ardent

democrats of the population of Paris. On the other hand the hopes of the reactionary party advanced more boldly into the daylight, and their organs launched the most calumniating invectives against the republican candidates who had been returned.

Threatening but anonymous letters were interchanged on both sides.

It was said that royalist agents of the highest rank had secretly entered Paris in disguise, to prepare a counter-revolution, and that they were attempting to corrupt the poorer classes of citizens with gold. The people thought they were betrayed, and threatened to throw the National Assembly into the Seine, if it did not immediately proclaim democratic institutions.

The investigation of some private agents kept me *au courant* of the real state of affairs. The number of persons of every shade of opinion that came to the Préfecture, the reports of the clubs especially, contributed to give me a perfect idea of the amount of the public agitation, which knowledge induced me to issue the following address to the inhabitants:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*

"CITIZENS,

"For the last few days dark rumours have been in circulation in every class of society; provocative accusations, verbal or written, are directed by one part of the population against the other. It is the duty of the Prefect of Police to watch at all times over the safety of the citizens and the tranquillity of Paris. The agitation excited by this appeal to disorder has awakened his anxiety; he trusts that the true republicans will understand now, more thoroughly than ever, that the Government relies upon their energetic support. At the moment when the representatives of the people are on the point of meeting, when the most serious questions are about to be discussed, when republican institutions are to be established, when France is about to receive after the acclamations of Europe and the sympathy of her people, a timely consecration of the grave

and unbiassed reason of her representatives, which is to assure the welfare of her people; when, finally, all the powers committed to human beings are preparing to sanctify our idol, the Republic, shall we, citizens, split ourselves into two parties, and show to the world, whose eyes are fixed on France, that the bases of our monuments, where we, children of the same country, have inscribed those sublime words, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," are armed against each other.

"Your magistrates, citizens,—especially he whom you have placed in an office which he only wishes to occupy to contribute, so far as is in his power, to the common safety,—refuses to believe in so misguided a design. A struggle by physical force, when the arena is about to be opened for the discussion of ideas, can only be the work of traitors to the Republic, or of madmen, desirous of making an outward disorder similar to that which prevails in their own minds. But the Republic refuses to acknowledge such as its children; it only engendered noble and devoted souls, and it is to

such true republicans that it will entrust its destinies.

"The Prefect of Police,

"CAUSSIDIERE."

"*Paris, 3rd May,* 1848.

I looked forward with pleasure to the day on which the National Assembly was to be opened, in the hope that the national representation would put a stop to these endless clamours, and that it would comprehend the duties imposed upon all by the revolution of February.

I received at this time a visit from M. Lamartine at the Préfecture.

I brought under his notice the sullen discontent that existed among the people, and the reports that were circulated respecting the formation of the new Government.

"Some," I said, "talk of a triumvirate, others speak of a president; if the former idea should be adopted, I am of opinion that to your name will be added those of Ledru Rollin and Flocon, which would satisfy at the same time the interests of the people and of the *bourgeoisie.*"

"That combination would never be accepted," he replied; "at least, Ledru Rollin might be admitted, but Flocon is altogether out of the question, so it is needless to think of it.

"The 1,500,000 votes I obtained were only given to me because I offered guarantees of peace and order. Within the last three or four days I have seen many hundred deputies who will rally round these principles."

I did not press the matter further; but I added, that to ensure peace and order, so universally and so ardently desired, it was indispensable that the people should reckon some real revolutionists among the members of the new governing power.

I afterwards heard from Ledru Rollin that he and Flocon had had an interview with M. Lamartine; that this project was discussed; that M. Lamartine was not then averse to it, but that the *amour propre* of Flocon had rendered all arrangement impossible.

Thus the day of the opening of the National Assembly approached with fear and hatred on

one hand, and hope and elevation on the other.

On the 3rd of May I paid a visit to the palace of the National Assembly, thoroughly to inspect the new hall, and to see that it was open to no danger.

I was accompanied by the head of the Municipal Police, the head of the first division, the Commissary of Police of the Palace of Justice, and the Colonel of the Republican Guard.

I found a detachment of the Fire Brigade and a division of the Republican Guard there, who were on duty. After giving the most minute instructions to M. Terchon, the commander of the Fire Brigade, and to the colonel of the Republican Guard, I entered a hall, where I found General Courtais and other officers of the staff, and various functionaries.

I announced to the general that a picquet of one hundred men had been ordered to be on duty to take measures on the day of the opening for the general safety.

General Courtais replied that the National Guard having claimed the exclusive honour of

protecting the Assembly, the Provisional Government had given orders that that service should be exclusively reserved to them.

I expressed my dissatisfaction at a step which appeared to throw suspicion upon the Republican Guard, whose acts had been worthy of all praise.

It was depriving me of a means to preserve the public peace, a point which is indispensable in a revolutionary epoch.

Without throwing out conjectures upon past events, I can safely say that, if at a later period a detachment of the Republican Guard had been posted at the Assembly, no one would have dared to cross the threshold. The acknowledged patriotism of this body of men would alone have sufficed to restrain the people, to whom it would have explained the culpability of such proceedings.

In these extraordinary acts of passive hostility, I recognized the prosecution of a deep-laid scheme to lessen the importance of my functions. I am, moreover, convinced that the National Guard would not have taken offence

at seeing a post of safety occupied by a body of men who had so much interest in the maintenance of the Republic.

It would have been another moral and physical guarantee against any attempt at disorder.

CHAPTER IX.

The 4th May—Opening of the National Assembly—The lists—Procession of the Government—Vive Lamartine!—Triumphal march of the future President—Entry into the Assembly-hall—Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, and Louis Blanc—M. Audry de Puyraveau—Physiognomy of the Assembly—Beranger and Larochejaquelin—A bench of royalists—The summit of the Mountain—Barbès and Arago—The monk in canonicals—M. Lamennais and M. Montalembert—The coterie of the *National*—The new comers—The dress—The fashion of the Convention—Speech of Dupont de l'Eure—The Government resigns its power—Unanimous adhesion to the Republic—Declaration of the Assembly—General Courtais—The Assembly in presence of the people—Enthusiasm—What has become of Fraternity?—Sad forebodings—Hamlet—Words.

It was a day that had been most anxiously expected, this 4th of May!

All parties of all shades of opinion, from the crimson of hope and ambition to the sullenness of fear, now met face to face.

The fate of the Republic, in truth, depended upon this strange medley of men brought together, where all the old ideas, all the old interests, seemed to be in a majority.

At noon more than five hundred representatives had already taken their seats.

The Provisional Government, which had assembled at the Hôtel of the Minister of Justice on the Place Vendôme, to proceed in a body to the Assembly, set out at about half-past twelve, advancing through a hedge of National Guards. As it went on its way, repeated cries of "*Vive la République!*" "*Vive Lamartine!*" hailed its progress.

It was as if the *cortège* were accompanying the triumphal march of Citizen Lamartine, whom the repeated enthusiastic *vivats* of the *bourgeoisie* of the National Guard seemed to designate as the President of France. No cloud had as yet overshadowed his popularity.

Shouts in honour of the Provisional Government were heard at intervals.

The Government soon made its entry into the hall of the Constituent Assembly, led by

Dupont de l'Eure, supported by Lamartine and Louis Blanc.

Citizen Andry de Puyravesu presided, as senior member.

The appearance of the Assembly was a curious one. The seats had been taken rather at hap-hazard, and there were some singular mixtures. On the right hand, where Beranger was seated, there was a bench of legitimists; M. O. Barrot was surrounded by royalists, for instance, MM. Dupin, Duvergier, De Hauranne, De Malleville, Remusat; on the extreme left, at the summit of the Mountain, sat Barbès and the two Aragos.

It was there as a true representative of the people my duty seemed to direct me. A little beyond were two unoccupied seats, kept for Martin Bernard and Baune. Then came Félix Pyat, Guinard, David d'Angers, and the Abbé Lacordaire, in his white robes. Below him was Lamennais, and M. de Montalembert sat facing the tribune.

The *coterie* of the *National* occupied the left, below the ministerial benches.

The deputies who were new-comers, and

strangers to party places, were generally collected at the extremities of this ugly long-shaped hall, where one-half of the persons present are doomed to hear nothing.

A great deal was said about the costume prescribed by the Government. Scarcely any one, however, had adopted not even the members of the Government. I was, perhaps, the only one that had on a white waistcoat with a broad collar, as worn by the Convention.

After the first excitement had subsided, Citizen Dupont de l'Eure ascended the tribune and read a written speech, prepared by himself and his colleagues, by which they collectively resigned the reins of power of the Republican Government into the hands of the National Assembly:

"CITIZENS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE:

"The Provisional Government of the Republic comes to make its obeisance to the nation, and to render a striking mark of homage to the supreme power with which you are invested.

"Elect of the People! We bid you wel-

come to this great capital, where your presence calls forth a feeling of happiness and hope, which will not be delusive.

"Depositaries of the National Sovereignty, you are to erect our new institutions on the wide basis of democracy, and to give to France the only constitution that can suit it, a Republican constitution." (The speaker was here interrupted by a universal shout of "*Vive la République!*")

"But, after having proclaimed the great political law which is to give a definitive constitution to the country; like ourselves, Citizen Representatives, you will have to bend your best energies to the regulation of the most efficacious action of the Government in the relations which the necessity of labour establishes between all citizens, and which should have for its bases the sacred laws of Justice and of Fraternity.

"The moment has at length arrived for the Provisional Government to deposit in your hands the unlimited power with which the Revolution had invested it. You are aware, as regards us, whether that dictatorship was any-

thing else than a moral power in the midst of the difficult circumstances we have endeavoured to overcome.

"Faithful to our old principles and our personal convictions, we did not hesitate to proclaim the young Republic of February.

"To-day we inaugurate the labours of the National Assembly with the cry around which it will always rally:

"Vive la République!"

The Minister of Justice then called upon the Assembly to begin its labours, by forming its bureaux for the inquiring into the validity of the election returns.

Two hours afterwards the Assembly commenced its sitting, and Citizen Olivier, of Marseilles, having required that each deputy admitted should give his personal adhesion to the Republic, the whole Assembly rose to the renewed cry of *"Vive la République!"*

A deputy of the Seine then proposed the following proclamation, which was carried unanimously:—

"THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

"The faithful interpreter of the sentiments of the people which have just nominated it, before commencing its labours,

"DECLARES, in the name of the French people, and in face of the whole world, that the REPUBLIC proclaimed on the 24th February, 1848, is, and shall remain, the form of Government of France.

"The device of the Republic desired by France is:

"*Liberty, Fraternity, Equality.*

"In the name of the country, the Assembly conjures all Frenchmen of every opinion to forget old dissensions, and to form henceforth one united family. The day which unites the representatives of the people, is a festival of concord and fraternity for all citizens.

"*Vive la République!*"

But suddenly, before the applause had subsided, General Courtais, Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, rose to express the wishes of the people, which demanded that the Government and the Assembly should step out

into broad daylight on the steps of the palace, to proclaim the Republic in the face of the sun.

All the representatives rose, and, following the President, passed in front of an immense multitude which crowded the peristyle, the court-yards, the square, the quays, and the bridge.

It was a solemn moment. The mighty voice of the people responded like a sympathetic echo to the voice of its representatives, and for a moment every soul present bowed down under a feeling of religious awe.

Since the first manifestation of the combatants of February at the Hôtel de Ville, no phase of the Revolution had been imbued with more grandeur and patriotism than this short moment, at which one soul and one mind seemed to animate the people and the Government,—the result of universal suffrage!

Under the sway of the Assembly, what has become, alas! of that glorious concord which was to have been the prelude to fraternity, in the true sense of the word.

On the very next day the following fore-

bodings might be read in the *Vraie République*, which have been justified by the event:—

"The fête was magnificent, inside as well as outside the Assembly. But, nevertheless, under this enthusiasm of nine hundred citizens, elected by the people, we may be allowed to ask what principles were active? An Assembly may be compared to a man. It is impossible to form a correct judgment of him by a first glimpse of his face. The social and popular Republic—the Republic of equality and justice—how many orators does it number in that re-union of *bourgeois* who but yesterday looked upon it as a crime and a folly?

"On leaving the hall the true Republicans thought probably of that noble scene in Hamlet: 'Words! Words!'"

CHAPTER X.

The National Assembly and the Government—The 8th of May—Louis Blanc and Albert—The National workshops and M. Emile Thomas—M. Marie—The budget of the Luxembourg—2 francs 50 cents a-head—Astonishment of M. Garnier Pagès—Bankers and millionaries—A dinner at M. Crémieux's—M. Lamoricière and Etienne Arago—The square of the Palais Royal—M. Lamoricière at Court on the 24th February—Indecision of the King and of the Duke of Nemours—Noble zeal of the general—Albert's reply—Enfranchisement of the people—The Executive Commission—The Duchesse de Berri in France—Henry V. in Paris—A hiding-place in the Faubourg St. Germain—The Court of Charles X.—No more pretenders.

In the sitting of the 8th of May, the National Assembly decreed that the Provisional Government had deserved well of the country. Considering the difficulties it had to contend against, it is certain that its task was no easy one, and

that, without an exception, the members of the Government passed not only their days, but their nights, in active and continuous labours. It is true that the Council lost much valuable time in hostile discussions, but it is only justice to say, that if it did not always do well, it did a great deal in a very little time.

The reactionists, already powerful, accused Louis Blanc and Albert of agitating and attempting to trouble society. They sent in their resignations as President and Vice-President of the Luxembourg.

No funds had been allowed them to facilitate a system of association between the working classes; whilst the national workshops, under the direction of M. Emile Thomas, and under the patronage of M. Marie, absorbed enormous sums, without any other result than the demoralization of the citizens.

Louis Blanc was always strenuously opposed to these workships, which employed fifteen thousand men at useless embankments; his opposition, however, has not prevented the responsibility of the national workshops being thrown, most unjustly, upon his shoulders.

He was also accused of living sumptuously at the Palace of the Luxembourg, notwithstanding that his expenses were so small that M. Garnier Pagès thought fit to address some observations to him and Albert, on what he styled their parsimony.

Neither of them spent in truth, more than two francs and a half for their dinner.

"It has the appearance of a reflection upon your colleagues," said M. Garnier Pagès, "and on the expenses they are obliged to incur."

"It is very well for you and your colleagues, who receive bankers and millionaires as guests at your table," Louis Blanc is reported to have replied, "to entertain them handsomely, but I —constantly with workmen sitting opposite to me, who often stand in need of the common necessaries of life,—I could not, without insulting their misery, make a display of a sumptuous table."

A few days before the elections, I was invited to a dinner at M. Crémieux's, where I found MM. Lamoricière, Bedeau, Etienne Arago, Louis Blanc, and Albert. I said to the last, that M. Grandmésnil had complained of the

bad fare of the Luxembourg, asserting that the *employés* kept a far better table.

"It is true," replied Albert, "we endeavour to live as simply as possible; we could not find it in our hearts to live sumptuously when the people are suffering."

This incident reminds me of another. At this very same dinner at M. Crémieux's, a great deal was said about the days of February. Etienne Arago addressed Lamoricière respecting the affair of the Palais Royal. The General avowed that he was then in a most critical position, and that if it had not been for the timely assistance of Etienne Arago he might have fared badly. A great deal was said about the chances of that day, and Lamoricière observed,—

"Matters would not have taken the turn they did, if I had not met with so much hesitation at Court."

He then told how, on the 24th of February, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, he waited upon the King to receive his orders. His Majesty seemed much cast down, and referred him to the Duke of Nemours. The

future regent, more undecided and more terrified than the King, refused to have recourse to any extraordinary measures.

It was this want of instructions that paralyzed the zeal of the General.

"All the zeal in the world would have been of no avail," returned Albert. "Everything was prepared for success. The secret societies would have stirred up the military population of Paris. After the massacre on the Boulevard des Capucines, the insurgents were determined to conquer or die. The soldiers of Louis Philippe, in case of a dearly-bought victory, would have had to walk over corpses and ruins."

I supported Albert's opinion. After what I myself had been a witness to, the issue could not have been doubtful. If the struggle had been prolonged for a few days more, it would only have tended to establish the enfranchisement of the people on a firmer basis.

The Provisional Government, congratulated on the 8th, was replaced on the 10th by an Executive Commission, consisting of five members of the former government; MM. François Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and

Ledru Rollin. The majority of the "pale" side of the Government was complete.

It was at the moment, when the Provisional Government had just been dissolved, that the arrival of the Duchess of Berri in France was announced. She had come, it was said, to intrigue in favour of Henry V., and had held secret councils with the legitimists. She was said to have been seen and recognised either at St. Cloud or at Paris. Others went so far as to say that she was accompanied by Henry V. himself, who was making preparations for a second restoration. I received a host of informations of this description: but, as usual, I attached little importance to such absurd reports,—reports of a character that only tend to divert attention from more serious affairs. However, a person worthy of credit came and informed me, that the Duchess of Berri was really concealed in the Faubourg St. Germain, under the name of one of the ladies of her Court, and that she had been recognised by two persons, who were well acquainted with her.

I requested the Secretary-General himself to

wait upon this lady, in order that an end might be put to these reports.

He returned, after being absent about an hour, accompanied by a lady, whose only resemblance to the Duchess was in the hair. The lady did formerly belong to the Court of Charles X., but she protested that she utterly abstained from politics, and added that she came herself to certify the same to me.

I replied, with as much courtesy as possible, that I regretted that she had taken that trouble, and that when I sent my secretary to her, I was quite convinced of what she now asserted. She withdrew satisfied with these explanations.

I heard nothing more about duchesses or pretenders.

CHAPTER XI.

Poland and Italy—Treachery of 1830—The 10th of May—M. Wolowski—Polish petition—M. d'Aragon, and M. Lamartine—Adjournment of the interpellation on Foreign Affairs—*Racca !*—Ashes and bones—The cannon-balls of despotism—The Peace-mongers—The Italian volunteers—M. Lamartine gives 2000 francs—The barricades—Petition of the French democrats—The 13th of May—Long live Poland !—Representative Vavin—The Place de la Madeleine—The rappel again !—The 1st Legion—Order of the day of the 13th of May—Adjournment of the fête of Concord—Protest of the delegates of the Luxembourg, and of the ex-political prisoners—The rights of labour—Deceitful promises—A million lost—The 14th of May—The delegates of the provinces—The new minister, Recurt—The executive commission—Minister Flocon seized by the collar—Gratuitous representations—Let us fraternize !—Preparations for the 15th of May—The day of concord—Discontent of the clubs—Letter of Citizen Huber—Wisdom and prudence—The popular leaders—Good fortune.

ACCORDING to public report the Government did not purpose interfering in the affairs

of Poland and of Italy, and the Polish and Italian liberals were to be allowed to be massacred, as in 1830.

These assertions, added to the cannonade at Rouen, irritated the population against the Government.

On the 10th May, Wolowski, a member of the Chamber, presented a petition to the National Assembly from the committees of Posnonia, Cracow, and Galicia, soliciting the protection of the French Republic. This petition concluded as follows:—

"People of France! For seventeen years our protests have aroused your noble and holy indignation in vain; now that the Almighty has restored your independence you will not allow your brethren in Poland to be cruelly murdered,—your former comrades in the paths of glory, who have been faithful to your cause, in your victories as in your misfortunes.

"Frenchmen! In the name of our profaned and despoiled altars, in the name of our murdered wives and children, of our towns and villages reduced to ashes; in the name of the most sacred cause, and by the knowledge that this is the

most decisive moment for us, we invoke your aid. We send you our brothers in misfortune, not to excite your pity, but to ask you plainly and honestly for succour against despotism; to call you to fulfil the noble mission which God has entrusted to your nation, and which France will not deny to her sister, expiring under the dagger of the assassin.

"JOSEPH WYSOCKI.
"TYSZKIEWICZ.
"BERWINSKI."

"*May* 3, 1848.

On the conclusion of his speech Citizen Wolowski demanded the direct intervention of France, and called upon the Government to make an appeal to the German nation, to the Frankfort Diet, to save Poland.

This patriotic motion was received with loud applause, and the discussion of it was fixed by a majority for the Monday following, the 15th May.

At the same sitting Citizen d'Aragon requested the Assembly to give him a day to demand explanations from the Government as

to a paragraph of M. Lamartine's speech relative to the affairs of Italy. This interpellation was also adjourned to the 15th May.

It was on this occasion that M. Lamartine spoke against any immediate intervention.

"We have," he said, "already repeatedly promulgated and defined the sort of assistance which the French nation should give to the liberated nationalities of Italy; the meaning of our words must be also the meaning of our acts; the French flag will only advance when we see the hour is come that it should do so; and then it will advance within the limits you yourselves may prescribe in your wisdom and your enlarged patriotism. But, mark me well, what took place in 1831 must not be renewed in 1848; and when the French flag shall have advanced to the point where we determine it shall stay, remember it must never retrace its steps! There is no retrogression."

It would seem then that the hour had not yet struck, and no intervention came to the aid either of the people of the North or of the South. When a man becomes a statesman,

must he necessarily become a coward and a traitor to all noble sentiments? Will history have to record another defection? And will not the people some day point at us and cry "*Racca!*" and smother us with the ashes of their cities and the bones of their dead, accumulated in heaps by the cannon-balls of despotism.

It was we who took the revolutionary initiative. It was our task to universalize democratic principles. A million of armed citizens would have risen as one man, to enfranchise the nations. How much blood might thus have been spared!

Ye French peace-mongers, ye might have obtained peace much more readily by assuming an energetic attitude, than by abandoning yourselves to a decline, fatal to the honour of the French name.

The idea however of interfering in favour of the Poles and of the Italians took root in the minds of the people. Many French patriots offered their support to the foreign committee sitting at Paris.

Citizen Debray confided to me his intention of proceeding to Milan, to assist the insurgents against the Austrians, with one hundred and twenty men, who were literally starving in the streets of Paris, and whom he had organized into a company of volunteers.

I warned him against being deceived by others or by himself, but he assured me that he knew what he was about, and that his men were all patriots.

I then gave him a letter, recommending him to the notice of M. Lamartine, and asking the Minister to provide him with funds for the expedition.

"Above all things," I said to him, "when you present my letter to M. Lamartine, lay particular stress upon the active part you and your men took in the days of February: the title of Combatant of the Barricades will immediately procure you the necessary means to leave the capital."

And, in fact, he returned to me next day, with two thousand francs, which he had received from M. Lamartine. I was instructed to see how this money was expended, it being destined

to cover the first and immediate expenses. He added that the qualification of having fought upon the barricades had produced the best effect; and that he should at once make the necessary preparations for his departure.

Again, the members of different clubs conceived the idea of giving their sanction to the Polish petition, by presenting one from the democrats to the National Assembly.

On Saturday 13th of May, at about 10, A.M., the petitioners began to assemble on the Place de la Bastille. There were present the Polish deputation, the deputation of the workmen of the Luxembourg, delegates from the Clubs, pupils of the Polytechnic School, and of the Marine, and a considerable number of officers of the National Guard, and National Guards in uniform, but unarmed. The procession, consisting of a compact column of fix to six thousand citizens, wended its way along the Boulevards, in admirable order, to the shouts of "*Vive la Pologne!*" and arrived in this order at the Place de la Concorde. I had stationed there two Commissaries of Police, who introduced ten delegates into the palace of the

National Assembly, where they were received by the representative Vavin.

Citizen Buchet (of Cublize), President of the delegation, made an energetic speech to Citizen Vavin, who was appointed to receive the petition and to lay it on the bureau of the Assembly.

Citizen Vavin replied that he should use all his influence with his colleagues, to further the project of a re-establishment of Poland amongst the States of Europe, that nation always having commanded all his sympathies.

From the balcony of a house in the Place de la Madeleine, Citizen Buchet proclaimed the result to the multitude. The applause was renewed, when M. Vavin, accompanied by another representative, repeated publicly the promise that had been made to the delegates.

The Assembly, nevertheless, passed to the order of the day on the petition relative to Poland. Notwithstanding the pacific nature of this demonstration, the *rappel* was beaten in the first and second arrondissements, and some National Guards appeared with their muskets,

and uttered threats against the workmen. Little was wanting to cause a deplorable collision, for the reactionists, to excite the 1st Legion, had asserted that some guards had been disarmed, that they were fighting on the Place de la Révolution, and that the lives of the representatives were in danger.

The day passed over without further disturbances, but the people were agitated by rumours of every description. Numerous groups scattered in the Tuileries, around the Hall of the National Assembly, and along the quays, were eagerly discussing an order of the day, which was couched in the following terms.

"NATIONAL GUARD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.

"*Order of the Day of the* 13*th of May*, 1848.

"The General Commander-in-Chief, hastens to inform the National Guards of the Department of the Seine, that the National Assembly has decided, that the second grand fête of the

Republic, which was fixed for to-morrow, the 14th, is postponed to Sunday, the 21st of the present month.

"The representative of the people, General, Commander-in-Chief,

(Signed) "COURTAIS."

This adjournment was attributed principally to the resolution adopted by the delegates of the Luxembourg, and by the *Détenus Politiques*, for whom places had been appointed in the programme of the ceremony: both had notified their intention of not taking part in the fête, in consequence of the critical condition in which the country was now placed.

The delegates of the Luxembourg grounded their refusal upon the contemptuous neglect by the National Assembly of the promise of the Provisional Government, by which it engaged itself to guarantee the existence of the workmen by labour—a promise by which it was bound to procure work for all citizens, and to recognize the right of the working classes to hold public meetings, that they might dis-

cuss with each other questions as to whether they were to enjoy the fruits of their legitimate labour. The Provisional Government had, at the same time, promised to make over to the workmen, as their's of right, one million of francs, the payment of which was on the Civil List. This promise, which had all the properties of a decree, bore the signatures of Garnier Pagès, then Mayor of Paris, of Louis Blanc, and of one of the Secretaries of the Provisional Government.

The manifestation of the workmen, which was published in all the journals, concluded as follows:—

"The promises made upon the barricades not having been fulfilled, and the National Assembly, at its sitting of the 10th of May, having refused to establish a ministry of labour and of progress, the workmen, delegates of the Luxembourg, refuse to attend the festival, denominated the 'Festival of Concord.'

"*Paris*, 11*th of May*, 1848.

(Signed) "LEGARDE, President.
"BERNARD, Vice President.
"GODIN,
"LAVOISIER,
"LEFAURE, DELIT, and PETIT, Secretaries."

The declaration published by the *Détenus Politiques* was no less significant.

"A festival has been decreed for the 14th of May.

"The *Détenus Politiques* have been invited to that fête, but,

"As the people are dying of hunger,—as the wounds of our brethren are still bleeding,—as the presence of the *Détenus Politiques* at the fête of the 14th, must be regarded as an act of appeal against what has been done politically and socially since the 24th of February; an extraordinary meeting of the *Détenus Politiques* convoked expressly, having considered that Republicans cannot abandon themselves to joy with sorrow in their hearts, have unanimously decided that they will not attend the festival of the 14th of May.

"The members of the committee,—

CAUNES,
GEOFFROY.
KERSAUSIC,
PELLEVILAIN,
ROSIERES,
FLOTTE,
HUBER,
BIETTE,
DUGROSPRE.

Supplementary members:—

BARNIE,
RAYMOND."

The adjournment of the festival was much commented upon, and sharply criticised.

In point of fact, one of the principal reasons of delay was, that the preparations were not complete. Three days previously I was at the Minister of the Interior's Hôtel, when Citizens Courtais and Trigonnet came to announce to M. Ledru Rollin that nothing would be ready for the day appointed, and they presented him with an estimate of the expenses. The Minister protested against the proposed enormous ex-

penditure, declaring that it was an imperative duty to economize the funds of the state. He added, that the fête was a needless and costly demonstration, but that it was too late to suppress it altogether, because of the great number of citizens who had already arrived from the provinces to attend it. From the want of foresight and energy, time had been wasted and was now required. Nothing now was to be done but to bow to necessity, and the festival was postponed to the 21st.

It has been stated, that one million was spent upon a festival which engendered strife instead of concord. Would it not have been wiser to have lavished less upon it, and to have paid the debt contracted by the Provisional Government towards the workmen?

On Sunday, the 14th, the delegates of the departments held a meeting at the Palais National, to deliberate upon what steps should be taken in consequence of the adjournment to the 21st of May.

They appointed a committee to demand explanations from the Minister of the Interior. After waiting three hours in his ante-chamber,

they began to show symptoms of impatience, when the new minister, M. Recurt, made his appearance. He told them that he could not take it upon himself to fix the festival for Tuesday, the 16th of May, as they requested, but that he would communicate their wishes to the Executive Commission, and that he would send them a reply to the Place Vendôme.

Here again they waited in vain for many hours, and not receiving any reply, they sent a second deputation into the court-yard of the Minister of Justice, that the matter might be canvassed again.

Citizen Flocon, who was coming out of the ministry, endeavoured to assuage the irritation which these various delays had produced, but without success; some of the deputies even seized him roughly by the collar.

At this juncture Citizen Recurt made his appearance. He offered the delegates, by way of compensation for their disappointment, four gratuitous representations at the different theatres of Paris. This strange offer being anything but well received, Citizen Recurt added, that there was to be a review on the

Tuesday; that the delegates were invited to attend to fraternize, and that there would be a distribution of colours.

On the evening of the same day a fresh manifestation was preparing for the morrow in favour of Poland. The majority of the provisional delegates signified their intention of taking part in it.

These bickerings and delays irritated the people, and gave rise to the most strange conjectures. If the festival had taken place on the 14th, we should probably not have witnessed the events of the 15th. The entire population, assembled on the Champ de Mars, would have filed off with cries of "*Vive la Pologne!*" as had been agreed upon beforehand by a great number of citizens. So unanimous a manifestation, by making, as it would have done, the National Assembly aware of the popular feeling, would have obliged it to pay respect to the petitions it had received, and would have prevented any ulterior demonstration.

Again, the festival would have been one of concord. All the citizens would have rallied round one prevailing sentiment, and for a long

time to come it would have put a stop to inimical and dangerous designs.

It is not in the power of any government to suppress the noble impulses of a people. The heart of France beat loudly for the cause of Poland, and required to be satisfied with sympathy on the part of her rulers.

Some of the discontented clubs accordingly resolved to have a hand in the manifestation projected for the Monday, but at the same time they determined to carry themselves discreetly and peaceably. Huber, who has been pronounced one of the main instigators and principal actors in the events of the 15th, caused the following letter to be inserted in the different journals of Paris.

"CITIZEN EDITOR,

"A false and lying report, engendered by calumny, the only object of which is to create disunion and discord among the different classes of society, was disseminated yesterday with fearful rapidity.

"Some hundreds of citizens having agreed to meet this day, Monday, at ten o'clock, on the Place de la Bastille, to present a petition

in favour of unhappy Poland, some individuals, whose reactionary intentions are well known, hastened to spread alarm, by falsely attributing to the petitioners anarchical or malicious intentions.

"As President of the central committee, and perfectly cognisant of the pacific sentiments of the authors of the petition, I most strongly protest against the odious imputations that have been cast upon them; and to reassure those who have been misled, I declare:

"That the sole object of the proposed manifestation is to demand for our Polish brethren the restoration of their country and their national independence.

"That to accomplish successfully this fraternal duty towards an oppressed people, who have always been the friends of France, the petitioners will observe in their demonstration that dignified tranquillity which becomes citizens who are deeply penetrated with the consciousness of their rights, and of the justice of their cause.

"Receive, Citizen Editor, the assurance of my sentiments of esteem and sympathy.

"A. HUBER.

"*Paris*, 14*th May*, 1848."

I however called together a certain number of patriots, whose prudence in the moment of danger I had more than one occasion of appreciating, and instructed them to place themselves at the head of the procession, that they might prevent any disturbance. They promised me the best assistance in their power.

I was moreover aware, that the more seriously inclined leaders of the popular party, their clubs, and their journals, had resolved to take no part in any premature demonstration, as the Polish question was soon to be brought forward in the National Assembly, and to be decided by the representatives of the people.

Who, then, on the evening of the 14th, could have foreseen the agitation and the consequences of the 15th of May?

CHAPTER XII.

The 15th May—Dictatorial powers of the President of the Assembly—Letter of M. Buchez—A handful of the factious—A letter to the President, to the Executive Commission, and to General Courtais—A significant postscript—The Montagnards and the Republican guard—Colonel Caillaud at the St. Victor barracks—Report to the Executive Commission—No orders—Tardy measures of the Government—Letter from Garnier Pagès and Arago to the Minister of the Interior—M. Recurt—The manifestation—150,000 men—One hundred institutes—The petition in favour of Poland—Storming of the Palace—The *Salle des Pas Perdus*—General Courtais—The Hall of Assembly—M. Wolowski—Tumult—The public tribunes—Cracking of the edifice—The people masters of the Assembly—The *Moniteur*—Flight of the Deputies—New Provisional Government—The Hôtel de Ville—The National Guard—The prisoners of Vincennes—An unforeseen part.

THE President of the National Assembly had been invested with dictatorial powers, which authorized him to have at his disposal,

proceeding to the Chamber, to manifest their sympathy in behalf of Poland, and to extort a decision from the Assembly.

"This demonstration will be made without arms. The only disturbance to be feared, may arise from some of the partisans of Blanqui's club, who are holding a sitting at this moment, on the Boulevard du Temple, and who, it is said, are to carry pistols concealed about their persons.

"I have taken precautionary measures, in consequence, and if I can manage to attend the Chamber, I will give you a verbal account of what is taking place.

"*Salut et Fraternité,*

"THE PREFECT OF THE POLICE."

Postscript.—A quarter past ten:—

"I have this moment been informed that, contrary to expectation, many citizens are proceeding to the place of meeting armed, and that their numbers may very likely be increased; their movements will be most strictly watched."

I requested the head of the Municipal Police to send a sufficient number of men to Com-

missaries Bertoglio and Doussaux, with instructions not to allow the crowd to come near the Assembly. A chain of agents, not known as such by the multitude, was established from the Boulevards to the Pont de la Concorde, to make the President, Buches, aware of how matters were going on, and to advise him as to the proceeding of the procession.

At the same time I had some notion of calling out the Montagnards and the Republican Guard.

The National Assembly had refused the services of the Republican Guard, and on the day of the opening of the Chamber it was with great difficulty that they obtained a place in the *cortège*. Moreover, they were under the impression that it was intended to disband them, because, notwithstanding the steps taken by their Colonel and by myself, they had waited in vain for more than a month for the confirmation of the appointment of their officers, already accepted by the Minister of the Interior.

Some companies even declared that they would not go out upon such an irregular service as it appeared was expected from them.

I ordered five hundred men to assemble at the Préfecture, and confined the remainder to their barracks.

Lieutenant-Colonel Caillaud, whom I had sent to the barracks St. Victor to sound the Montagnards as to their intentions, sent me the following note :—

"CITIZEN PREFECT,

"According to your instructions I proceeded this morning to the barracks of St. Victor, to ascertain whether the Montagnards purposed joining in the demonstration in favour of Poland. I found a number of them drilling in the court-yard; they said that such was their intention.

"I announced to them that you had been informed that evil-disposed persons would attend the manifestation to propagate other sentiments than they entertained, and that consequently you requested them to come to the Préfecture to render their assistance in case of a tumult.

"It was decided that only twenty of them should attend the demonstration, and that they

should appear there out of uniform, so that they might be able to arrest any agitators who should attempt to cause a disturbance in their name.

"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CAILLAUD.
"15*th May*, 1848."

In fact, about an hour after the receipt of the above letter, three hundred and fifty of them arrived at the Préfecture. At eleven in the morning I got up with the intention of proceeding to the Assembly; I found it, however, impossible to descend the stairs, having completely lost the use of my right leg, from a contusion of the knee. At noon I was required to attend the Executive Committee, but I was so ill that I sent the following excuse:—

"Indisposition, which has confined me to my bed for the last three days, prevents me from waiting upon you; should you, however, deem my presence indispensable, I await your orders, and shall have myself carried to the Petit Luxembourg, to await the result of your deliberations."

I awaited their orders, but I received none.

At two o'clock only, Citizen Panisse, the head of the division of the general police at the Ministry of the Interior, brought me an order from the Executive Commission, addressed to the Minister of the Interior, to effect certain arrests. This order was worded as follows:—

"The Commission of the Executive Power requests you to take the following measures without delay:—

"To offer to the workmen of the national workshops, from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, and unmarried, employment in the army, and to dismiss all those who refuse to enlist.

"To enjoin upon the mayors of the different districts of Paris, the most strict exactness in the required formalities respecting the regulations of the national workshops.

"To arrest immediately all individuals notoriously privy to and compromised in the plots organized for the overthrow of the National Assembly and of the Government.

Salut et Fraternité,

"GARNIER PAGES.

"F. ARAGO.

"*Paris, 15th May,* 1848."

On the receipt of this I despatched my secretary-general to request more explicit instructions.

The minister Recurt was dictating fresh instructions when his bureaux were stormed, and he was compelled to stop in the middle of the official work he had to transact. During the day successive reports were brought to me. The demonstration, which numbered one hundred and fifty thousand citizens, on arriving at the Pont de la Concorde, forced the passage, which was kept by a detachment of the National Guard.

The enthusiasm which this immense column received all along its passage,—a burning sun, the abstinence from food since eight in the morning, the electric principle which circulates in all great masses, the patriotic shouts,—all tended to increase the general excitement, when, about two o'clock, the advanced ranks presented themselves at the gates of the palace of the Assembly.

They had not, however, any premeditated plan of action. There were more than one hundred different institutes in the proces-

sion, each with its own banner and its own leaders, who would act according to their own view of the case, and according to circumstances; they were, however so far agreed that they wished to impart a democratic impulse to the Chamber, which had already betrayed its reactionary tendencies.

At first, not more than one hundred men entered the court-yard to present the petition, but the numerous corporations, collected together at the other extremity of the column, endeavoured to force their way to the Chamber, or at least to approach it as near as possible. This caused a pressure of the living mass, which gradually swelled onwards to the principal entrance.

The only way to have stopped this living sea of human beings would have been to have prevented them from crossing the bridge, by placing a sufficient force there. The space before the House of Assembly would then have remained clear.

The few guards on duty at the entrance kept their footing as long as it was possible; but the progressive crush became so great

that the iron railings gave way, and the court-yard was immediately inundated by the crowd. Another circumstance admitted five hundred at one rush.

One of the soldiers on duty in the court-yard having by accident let his musket fall, it went off. This incident caused a scene of indescribable uproar, and cries were uttered "They are assassinating our brethren!" which cry was transferred from mouth to mouth, from phalanx to phalanx, as far as the Place de la Concorde.

The whole crowd now precipitated itself towards the doors of the palace, and many of them were literally suffocated.

It was soon known that the shot fired was the result of accident, but the people exclaimed, "The military then have their muskets loaded!"

The Salle des Pas Perdus was occupied by a knot of conspicuous politicians of every faction, who formed a little chamber, as it were, of their own. Many of them addressed the people in vehement language.

General Courtais was stopped here for some

length of time, and he was violently demanded to explain his intentions. Thus urged, he declared in a loud voice that if, in his capacity of general, he was ordered to beat the *rappel* as a signal for firing upon the citizens, he should at once give in his resignation.

After his departure a company of one hundred men were admitted by the gate that opens upon the quay, and were ordered to clear the Salle des Pas Perdus; but they were soon compelled to withdraw.

Similar scenes were enacting in different parts of the hall of the Assembly, the interior of which bore quite a dramatic appearance.

During the speech of M. Wolowski, shouts and the hum of many voices were heard approaching nearer and nearer to the Chamber, and on the report of the musket every one thought that a conflict had commenced. The tumult out of doors soon drowned the voices of the representatives; the entrances to the galleries were burst open with a tremendous crash, and men in blouses rushed in, waving flags and shouting "*Vive la Pologne!*" Many of them slid down the columns, and placed themselves

on the benches of the representatives. The people now poured in headlong at every entrance; the galleries were so crowded that they groaned under the weight. A tank burst, and the water flooded one of the passages. The whole building cracked again, and threatened to involve all in one common ruin.

The great gates of the semi-circle were at length thrown open, and gave admittance to the multitude and their leaders.

The people were now masters of the Assembly.

After the petition had been read, with the various episodes recorded in the *Moniteur*, another attempt was made to clear the hall. All the issues and passages were crowded with citizens eager to enter. At the same time a report was spread that a battle had commenced on the quays, and that in a few minutes there would be a general massacre.

Huber then mounted the tribune, and declared that the National Assembly was dissolved.

The deputies now flew in every direction, some towards the house of the President, whilst others sought shelter in the ranks of the

National Guard, who were mustering strong outside.

On the desks, in the tribune, on the benches of the adjacent rooms, the members of the different clubs were busily engaged writing out lists of names to constitute a new Provisional Government.

Various groups took the direction of the Hôtel de Ville. Gradually the Chamber thinned, and some hundreds of the people alone remained, when the National Guard entered at quick march, and reinstated the representatives in their seats.

It needs not to give a further account of that day's proceedings and its disastrous consequences, so inimical to the Republic. There are the prisoners of Vincennes to explain their acts and their intentions. Perhaps, as one of them has said, some personages who are not at Vincennes will play an unforeseen part in the trial!

CHAPTER XIII.

Invasion of the Préfecture—Arms! opinion on the 15th May—The chief of the municipal police—The Assembly and the old régime—Sedate attitude of the Montagnards—The Executive Commission—The Luxembourg—The counter-Revolution—"We will come and fetch you"—Captain Bertrand—Colonel Mercier—The troops of the line—The Clubs and the Government—Monarchies and soldiers—Arrest of Colonel Saisset—The duties of a *serjent de ville*—M. Garnier Pagès—M. Ledru Rollin—Just complaints of the Prefect of Police—I offer to resign—Flocon's opinion of the Executive Commission—Declaration of Garnier Pagès—"*Allez, mon bon!*"—MM. Charras and Bastide—Disbanding of the Republican Guard, of the Montagnards, and of the Lyonnais.

ABOUT five o'clock, whilst one body of the Republicans was advancing towards the Hôtel de Ville, the Préfecture was invaded by a crowd of some two hundred persons, declaring that

the Government and the Assembly had been dissolved. They demanded arms.

It was a moment of indescribable confusion. Every one seemed to have gone mad. Some of these new comers made their way to my cabinet, and announced to me the formation of a new government.

"You are to be one of them," they exclaimed,—"come and show yourself to the people!"

"I am," I replied, "Préfect of Police here, and when I shall have received orders from a duly constituted government, I shall then see how to act; at present I must request you to withdraw."

I endeavoured to descend the staircase into the court-yard, that I might do my best to re-establish order. I put on my sash and took my sabre, and at the moment, I dare say, cut a sorry figure as a soldier. On the staircase, which was crowded with men demanding arms, one of them pointed to the door of a hall which served as our arsenal, and exclaimed, "There are arms there."

"If you repeat that again," I said, "I shall

pass my sword through your body." Upon this he said no more, and with the assistance of the Republican Guard I cleared the Préfecture. I gave strict orders that not a soul should be admitted, unless he belonged to the establishment, under any pretext whatever.

By these means I saved the Préfecture, which continued under arms all night. The Fire Brigade and Guardians were also armed, and we escaped another invasion. I was extremely sorry to hear that the precincts of the National Assembly had been violated, and loudly manifested my dissatisfaction.

A person who was all this time in my cabinet, heard me exclaim,—"The act of folly that has been committed this day, may perhaps prove a death-blow to the Republic!"

M. Elouin, head of the Municipal Police, said to me, in the presence of persons who remember well his words:—

"Your conduct has been prudent and moderate."

I repeat these words, because Elouin afterwards declared, that he was not capable of

forming an opinion of my conduct in so critical an emergency. I had been silly enough to retain him in office; and I might have been sure that I should reap the punishment for so doing, sooner or later. It is not to court or to call for opinions upon my conduct that I write this book, but to express my mind, not only without restraint but with the utmost freedom. In revolutionary times it is only political nullities that have no enemies.

I wished, by struggling incessantly for the triumph of democratic principles, to induce the other nations of Europe to follow our example, and establish republics. Now, to obtain this end, it was necessary that we should set an example of order, moderation, and wisdom. The demonstration on the 15th, by creating disorder, seemed to, nay did, give an advantage to our enemies, who afterwards exclaimed,—"Look at the results of sovereign power when it is placed in the hands of the people. One day it creates an assembly by universal suffrage, and on the morrow it dissolves it."

Thence arose calumnies without end, and

the most audacious attempts to restore the old régime.

For my own part, I felt at the same time indignant and humiliated, at the almost passive part I had been compelled to play in this affair. False and unwise steps had been taken without my knowledge when I was confined by illness to the Préfecture.

A fatal feeling of self-importance seemed to actuate all who were in any measure invested with authority. I was a stumbling-block in the path of certain men, and had but little weight in their counsels. I had consigned a considerable number of the Montagnards to their barracks, and although excited to an intense degree, they preserved their tranquillity, contenting themselves with shouting "*Vive la République démocratique!*" When the National Guard marched past them, they were perfectly calm, and offered them no provocation.

In the evening Captain Bertrand brought me the following letter.

"The Commissioners of the Executive Power

request Citizen Caussidière to present himself immediately at the Petit Luxembourg.

"11h. 50m. in the evening.

"The Secretary of the Commission of the Executive Power.

"PAGNERRE."

The Colonel of the Republican Guard had received a similar communication.

Captain Bertrand, to whom I explained that I was too ill to move, hinted that the case was an urgent one.

I consequently thought it best to comply at all hazards with what I regarded as a peremptory order in the disguise of an invitation.

Meantime a report spread in the Republican Guard that I was to be arrested. Several functionaries had, it was said, been sent to Vincennes, and two or three regiments were drawn up in the vicinity of the Luxembourg. The counter-revolution had commenced.

I endeavoured to keep my men quiet, and told them, that whatever might be the intentions of the Commission, it was my duty, notwithstanding the state of suffering I was in, to

obey the orders of the Government; "I have nothing to fear," I added, "and I shall soon be back."

They only seemed half convinced, and declared that if I did not return within an hour they would come and fetch me!

I left in a carriage, accompanied by Colonel Mercier, and followed by an escort consisting of a small body of mounted Montagnards. On our way Mercier remarked how much I was suffering, and offered to go to the Luxembourg alone. This, however, I would not permit, and we drove into the court-yard of the Luxembourg, which was guarded by the National Guard and by troops of the line.

These troops of the line remained in Paris, notwithstanding the solemn promise of the Provisional Government that it would keep them distant from the capital, after the review of the 20th of April had taken place. Their departure had been delayed on the pretext that they were to fraternize with the National Guard. They were at this moment retained in the city at the particular request of MM. Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, and Arago.

The clubs did not hesitate to accuse the Government of having violated all its promises, and of harbouring the wish and the intention, as under the monarchy, of coercing the people by the military.

The halls of the Luxembourg were thronged with officers of the staff in full uniform, and a number of pupils of the Polytechnic School figured in this military display.

We had scarcely entered the room adjoining that in which the Council was sitting, when we beheld the arrest of Colonel Saisset, who, like ourselves, had been requested to await the pleasure of the Executive Commission.

A captain of the staff, who had been sent for the Colonel on official service, seeing upon what errand he had been employed, became furious; he threw his helmet on the ground, and drew his sword with the intention of breaking it.—"Where is the wretch," he exclaimed, "who has made me perform the base duty of a sergent-de-ville to arrest my Colonel?"

He was surrounded, but was with great difficulty appeased, and then only on the assurance that the arrest would have no consequences.

Mercier, turning to me, exclaimed, "Have we been caught in a trap?"

"I think not," I replied, "there may be reasons for the arrest of Saisset, which do not exist in our case."

I was now called into the Council Chamber, where I found some of the Ministers and Under-Secretaries of State.

Citizen Garnier Pagès was the first to speak. Addressing me, he said that the members of the National Assembly, insulted in the very performance of their functions, threw the responsibility upon the commander of the National Guard and on the Prefect of Police, whose dismissal they now demanded.

I made an energetic enumeration of all the services I thought I had rendered to the Republic during the three months I had been in office, and said that I had worked night and day, and had been continually issuing advice and exhortations, to the best of my judgment, either to Paris or to the departments.

"I appeal," I said, "to Citizen Ledru Rollin. Have you deprived him too of his office, for I do not see him here?"

Ledru Rollin, whom I had not seen, for he had been sitting in a recess with his back turned to me, immediately came forward. I entered into a full detail of the false position in which I had been placed, by being excluded from a participation in the affairs of the state. I complained of the incessant struggle I had had to maintain against the encroachments of the Hôtel de Ville; of the indifference manifested towards the Montagnards and the Republican Guard, who had been excluded from public ceremonies, and especially from the programme of the festival of the 14th of May; and, finally, of the refusal of the Government to insert the nomination of the officers in the *Moniteur*.

In the state the public mind was then in, would it not have been an act of excessive imprudence on my part, to have sent these troops to prevent the demonstration from approaching the precincts of the National Assembly, unless I had placed myself at their head, which was a physical impossibility? Was I not justified in supposing that the Government and the President had taken extraordinary precautions to meet the crisis?

I concluded by saying, that I was quite ready to resign my functions, and that all that I desired was necessary leisure to regulate my private affairs, which I had hitherto totally neglected.

M. Garnier Pagès observed, that if I resigned my functions, I should be called upon to render other services to the Republic, and that a mission of high importance would be entrusted to me.

I replied, that if I resigned, I did not seek further public employment, and that as a private citizen I should not be prevented from testifying my devotion to the cause of the people.

These gentlemen then requested me to step into the next room, there to await the result of their deliberations.

As I left the room, Flocon advanced towards me, and offered me his hand. I thrust it from me, saying, "I will not take the hand that is raised to strike me."

"You are wrong," he said; "I have never ceased telling them all that you have just now said to them; they are a set of——"

I did not hear the rest, but shook his hand.

In less than a minute I was recalled. M. Garnier Pagès announced that the Executive Commission retained me in my office as Prefect of Police.

"I am willing to remain," I replied, "but on condition that the Montagnards shall be taken care of, as employment has been promised to all those who are not retained on regular service; also on condition that in to-morrow's *Moniteur* the appointments of the Republican Guard shall be inserted. I shall thus have means of action at my disposal for the benefit of the Republic."

The Executive Commission made me a solemn promise that all this should be done!

I then said, "This self-same promise has been repeatedly made to the Republican Guard. That they may believe it, will you repeat the promise in presence of their Colonel, who is outside?"

Mercier was called in, and the promise that the appointments should be inserted in the *Moniteur* was renewed in his presence; it was also agreed that measures should be taken to provide for the Montagnards.

On leaving the Luxembourg I said to M. Garnier Pagès, that I feared my prolonged absence might have caused come disturbance at the Préfecture.

"*Allez, mon bon,*" was his reply, "and act for the best."

I received the congratulations of MM. Charras and Bastide. They were happy, they said, to shake the hand of an honest Republican. On the whole, the Council appeared to me to be animated by good intentions. I once more put faith in the realization of their promises.

But on the next day, the *Moniteur* did not contain the appointments of the officers of the Republican Guard. So far from it, it contained a decree of the Commission creating a new Garde Parisienne, of two thousand foot and six hundred horse, with an order to disband the Republican Guard, the Montagnards, the Lyonnais, and other similar bodies!

CHAPTER XIV.

Consequences of the 15th May—Conspiracy of the officers of the National Guard—Let us shoot Barbès—Interpellations to the National Assembly—I tender my resignation—Profession of principles—Bavoux and Sobrier—Siege of the Préfecture—General Bedeau—M. de Larochejaquelin—The Montagnards—Autographs of Louis Philippe—The lightning-conductors—M. Recurt a partisan of cannons—The Executive commission — M. Lamartine — M. Garnier Pagès—M. Lamartine nearly smothered—The democratic Republic—*Vive le Préfet!*—Fraternity of the National and Republican Guards—My resignation as prefect and as representative of the people — Generals Clément Thomas, and Bedeau—General Thomas at table—Captivity at Doullens—Invasion of the citadel—Republican virtues—A sad leave-taking—The days of June—The Saint Victor barracks—Retreat of the Montagnards—My last proclamation—M. Recurt and M. Trouvé Chauvel—Ingratitude and treachery—*Vive la liberté!*

THE remainder of the night passed by without any other incident worthy of remark than the denunciation of a conspiracy of some officers of the National Guard and Garde Mobile.

Their plan was to get up a tumult, and to introduce themselves during the scene into the Préfecture, and to seize upon Barbès, who they thought had sought a refuge there, and there and then to shoot him.

The person who discovered this plot, added, that the second step projected was, to proclaim a regency. He offered to allow himself to be kept a prisoner until the veracity of his assertion was proved. I sent to the place indicated to gather information on the subject. Some officers had, in fact, held a meeting there; and the above project had been discussed, but they separated without having come to any final determination. During the remainder of the night, numerous patrols paraded the city. Tranquillity was not disturbed.

On the morning of the 16th, I was informed that my name was to be brought prominently forward, and my conduct discussed in the National Assembly, and that some surprise had been evinced at my not being present.

I immediately had myself carried to the Chamber, and gave explanations, which it appeared to me were beyond refutation.

I pointed out how an attempt had been made to annihilate the influence of the Préfecture whose means of action had been cramped; that I naturally supposed—and could form no other supposition—that the Government, which was well and duly informed of what was taking place, had adopted their measures accordingly.

I moreover tendered my resignation, which I was told a certain number of representatives had demanded. This offer was received with loud cries of "No! no!"

I concluded as follows:—

"As I am in the tribune, allow me to make an avowal of my principles.

"My democratic sentiments are known to all; my feelings and my thoughts are devoted to the people, and to those who have suffered for the great cause of liberty.

"Something has been said about a modification of the *personnel* that surrounds me. I could not, without ingratitude, separate myself from such faithful and devoted men. Is it your definitive intention to decree the establishment of a Republican Guard? Do you desire to have them to stand by you, heart and

soul, or do you wish me to dismiss 2,500 devoted men, who have rendered and can still render important services? This is the point of the question (great agitation, and repeated 'Bravos')!

"I wished to establish a police of conciliation; I made known to the Government what I purposed, expounding to you 'the organization of the Republican Guard.'

"With 2,500 well-organized and devoted men, you will arrive at better and greater results than with 10,000 ill-disciplined troops.

"Will you entrust me with the organization of this body, which has up to the present moment rendered such real services? (various marks of agitation)."

On an interpellation of Citizen Bavoux with respect to the Hôtel of the Rue de Rivoli, I declared that M. Lamartine had given a written order to provide Sobrier with arms.

Whilst this was taking place in the Assembly, the Préfecture of Police was surrounded by a great number of National Guards and Garde Mobile. Two guns were drawn up opposite the principal entrance; I ascended

the tribune to demand explanations. General Bedeau pretended that I had been misinformed; he said that he had just left the Préfecture, and that he had not seen any guns.

At this moment I was informed that I was requested to attend the Executive Commission at the Petit Luxembourg.

In crossing the Salle des Pas Perdus I beheld Colonel Mercier, accompanied by some Republican Guards, whose fine and martial appearance was the admiration of several representatives.

Colonel Mercier was complaining that some National Guards had been sent against the Republican Guard, to excite the latter to some deplorable act.

"It is not the Republican Guard," M. Larochejaquelin is reported to have replied, "that is looked upon with an evil eye, but those horrible Montagnards, with their red cravats and red sashes."

What was the more astonishing in this ebullition of M. Larochejaquelin is, that it did not harmonize with his previous conduct. He had been pointed out to me as being very intimate

with some of the Montagnards; as having visited them at the Tournon Barracks; and as having given one of them, a certain Chapuis, some autographs of Louis Philippe. I do not wish to incriminate M. Larochejaquelin, the only legitimist representative who evinced sympathy towards me. Perhaps he also visited the Montagnards to act the part of a lightning conductor.

I approached the circle of representatives, which had formed round the Republican Guard, and said:—

"These are the men who are calumniated, and who are accused of troubling the Republic. Converse with them, and you will find them as intelligent men as they are good patriots."

At the same time, Mercier confirmed the information that the Préfecture was surrounded, that M. Recurt had appeared on the Square, and had requested to know whether they had guns to force an entrance. He was told that they had. Two pieces of artillery, masked by a palisade, were drawn up on the quay.

The National Guard, perceiving that these guns were served by artillerymen, and fearing

a mistake, and that they might be exposed to two fires, unmasked the battery, and the guns were immediately withdrawn.

Mercier added, that General Clément Thomas had attempted to relieve the Guards on duty, but that they refused to comply without an order from myself. Matters went no further.

This sufficed to convince me of the ill-will of the Commission. They wished to excite the Republican Guard to some reprehensible act, and so deprive the democrats of their moral influence.

My mind was made up at once.

On arriving at the council-hall of the Executive Committee, M. Lamartine was the first to reproach me.

"You accuse me," he said, "who have always been the first to defend you."

"I have not accused you," I replied, and I simply related what I had said: "you will not organize anything, and you cause me to be besieged!"

M. Garnier Pagès then said:—

"To tell you the truth, the Montagnards are a source of alarm; the Préfecture is looked

upon with suspicion. Is it true you tendered your resignation to the National Assembly?"

"Not officially; however, I am going now to the Préfecture; my things are soon packed. You shall hear from me shortly."

I was heartily sick of all these tortuous manœuvres against me.

For some days I had looked upon my situation as untenable. M. Recurt, the Minister of the Interior, of whom I had demanded an audience, which he had fixed for the day after his nomination, did not keep the appointment. The reactionary movement which I saw daily gaining ground was a continual source of disgust to me. I was too much of a democrat to hold my office on the terms upon which they wished me to occupy it.

I was leaving the room, with the firm determination of sending in my written resignation to the committee, when M. Lamartine asked leave to accompany me home in my carriage.

On the road the following conversation took place:—

"Have you really tendered your resigna-

tion?" he said; "those gentlemen did not take it in that light."

"I am aware," I said, "that they will rejoice at my retirement; and I shall give them that pleasure as soon as I have returned to the Préfecture."

He then spoke to me about the necessities of the Government, and said that the National Guard were by no means well inclined towards the Guard of the Préfecture.

"However this may be, gross calumnies have been circulated," was my reply. "Order the masses to withdraw, and I will answer for it that there shall be no disturbance. It shall not be said that the man who was proposed as the fit person to maintain order, became the cause of disorder."

He left me at the entrance of the Pont-Marie, and was surrounded by a crowd of National Guards, who pressed so closely round him, shouting, "*Vive Lamartine! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*" that he had a narrow escape of being suffocated, and was obliged to enter a printer's shop to regain his breath.

My carriage meantime was stopped by the

dense masses of the National Guards; I got out, and addressed them in a speech which I concluded with a shout of "*Vive la République démocratique!*"

I may say with truth that a unanimous exclamation of "*Vive le Préfet!*" was the reply. Their ranks opened a passage to allow me to pass, and I entered the Préfecture accompanied by some hundred National Guards of all ranks, shouting "*Vive la République démocratique!*" and they soon fraternised with the Republican Guard.

A similar scene took place outside. Officers went along the line of the National Guards to the same enthusiastic shouts. Thus the proper feeling of all redeemed this intemperate appeal to arms.

I sent at once my resignation in writing to the Executive, at the same time I despatched a letter to the President of the National Assembly tendering my resignation as representative of the people. A great number of citizens blamed me for throwing up this latter appointment—they did not understand that the one was the consequence of the other.

From the moment that I appeared to have lost value as a Prefect, it became imperative in some measure to return a trust which had been the recompense of my acts: this manner of looking at things may appear a piece of political nonsense, but I regard it as rational and in harmony with my principles, which did not allow me to enter upon the path of concessions.

The rumour spread below that I had just sent in my resignation. The National and Republican Guards demanded loudly to see me, that they might persuade me not to abandon my post.

I succeeded in convincing them that I could not have acted otherwise, recommending the spirit of fraternity to all, and obedience to the orders of my successor.

As regards the Montagnards, I added, that all my endeavours had been fruitless to secure them a definite provision; but that my sympathies were with them, for they were unhappily situated, and suffering from calumny.

I received the earnest expressions of their affection for me, so that I was amply compensated for the many and great acts

of ingratitude I had met with in other quarters.

In the evening, Generals Bedeau and Clément Thomas called upon me, to confer upon what measures ought to be taken. They desired the Republican Guard to evacuate the Préfecture at once; such were the orders of the committee.

I objected that there was something humiliating to brave citizens, in being thus turned out in the darkness of night. It was throwing an imputation of blame upon them; which they by no means deserved.

I added, "You sent an army of 40,000 men to besiege 400, who, on a simple order, withdrew to their barracks. It is quite incomprehensible. You, yourselves, have witnessed, that they fraternized during the evening with the National Guard—to-morrow they will be relieved, and all will be over."

The Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant Morisset confirmed my words, and the two Generals accepted my plan, which preserved the honour of my men. A post of 100 National Guards was ordered to mount guard.

Some thousands of the Garde Mobile took up their quarters at a short distance from the Préfecture, and Generals Thomas and Bedeau bivouacked with them all night.

I was at dinner when General Clément Thomas returned to say, that he found no one at the Chamber of the Committee to whom he could communicate the joint resolutions agreed upon, but that he thought they would be approved of.

He was quite exhausted from fatigue and want of food, and shared our repast. I reminded him of the years we had both spent in captivity at Doullens, and our escape together from that fortress.

"Is it not strange," I said, "that two republicans, who have eaten the dried pease and prison fare together, and shared the same dangers, should meet again as enemies—one besieging the other?"

"Under the same flag," he replied, "for which we both of us would lay down our lives: the word enemy is out of place; this is simply a mistake."

"It is a mistake," I rejoined, "that might

have cost dear, if our comrades had been less devoted and less prudent."

He then withdrew, and joined General Bedeau.

I descended into the courts below, and called the besieged garrison together. The evening before it was from 1,200 to 1,500 strong; but on the morning of the 16th, it had been reduced to 400 foot and 60 horse.

They all looked sad and silent, but seemed calm and resigned.

"Continue," I said to them, "to remain devoted to the public cause and to the order of the city, and your enemies will be compelled to acknowledge the magnanimity of your conduct. To-morrow morning you will leave this post, which, at some future period, you will be again called upon to defend. In the name of the Republic, and of the virtues it demands from its true children, let us make the sacrifice of our self-love to it; the day will come when democrats will be better appreciated."

A solemn promise to conduct themselves as good citizens, and a unanimous shout of "*Vive la République Démocratique!*" terminated the

events of this day. They retired to snatch a few moments of repose; and I did the same.

I was horribly fatigued. In the midst of the many occupations that thrust themselves upon me, I crawled about on my bad leg as best I could; but I felt that I should soon be laid up completely, and condemned to total inactivity.

At 5 o'clock on the following morning, all the men assembled in the court-yard, fully equipped. I wished to see them once more all together.

The leave-taking was a sorrowful one. I cannot express what I felt at the moment, but as rank after rank passed by me, it was as if a portion of myself was departing from me.

I felt an inexpressible oppression of the heart; tears involuntarily started into my eyes. They were not soldiers that were leaving me, but brothers, friends, in whose company, and under whose protection, I had come safely out of many dangers.

It was a cruel moment!

Many of them I then saw for the last time—they fell in the days of June.

Notwithstanding the solemn promises of the Executive Committee, and the reiterated assurances of General Bedeau, that the officers should retain their rank, more than three-fourths of them were dismissed only a few days afterwards.

I had another disagreeable task to perform. I had to request the dismissed Montagnards to leave the St. Victor Barracks; to find such lodging as chance might throw in their way. Many of them were fathers of families and had lost their trade. The Executive power, aware of their lamentable condition, ordered their pay to be continued for the space of ten days.

In this matter, the Republic incurred no risk of ruining itself by extravagance.

I sent Crévat to them. This friend combined firmness of character with love of discipline. His patriotism, which was beyond all question, had ensured him a joyful welcome into the ranks of the Montagnards; and since they had turned out the eighty bad ones from amongst them, they had resumed all the discipline of regular troops, and their conduct was irreproachable.

My emissary, on arriving at the St. Victor Barracks, found it surrounded by the National Guard, who wished to expel the Montagnards by force; without, however, daring to enter the court-yard.

Crévat returned to me, accompanied by an officer of the National Guard, to inform me how matters stood. I requested this officer to order the National Guard to withdraw, and to give a free passage to the Montagnards. The latter had retained their muskets, and refused to give them up, unless to the mayors of their respective districts, on a special order to that effect. Their conditions were, that they should be permitted to leave six by six with their arms, and without any impediment to their march.

On a written order from myself, the Montagnards left their central position; only, instead of being unmolested as had been promised, some of them had their muskets forcibly taken from them by the National Guard, who were concentrated in great numbers in the vicinity; and some of them were ill-treated, and even arrested.

In this manner the dissolution of the Montagnards of February was effected; of a body of men who, for three months, without striking a single blow, had preserved the public peace, and kept in awe thieves and inciters to disturbance.

Their only fault was, that they had admitted, at one time, into their ranks men from the different branches of the police. It was then that bad counsel was given them, and a spirit of insubordination arose. No one, however, had reason to complain of it, but myself. They corrected themselves, and I forgave them from my heart.

All that I had to do now, was to put my affairs in order. Under the peculiar circumstances in which I was placed, I thought it right to announce the reasons of my resignation to the inhabitants of the capital, and I issued the following address:—

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

INHABITANTS OF PARIS!

"I have just performed a duty; for it is the

duty of a man of honour not to allow suspicion to rest upon him.

"I have sent in my resignation as Prefect of Police and Representative of the People. The Government will provide a substitute. The Electors will form their own opinion of the man they returned.

"Until my successor be named, I shall continue to fulfil all the duties attendant upon the office of the Prefect, as I have done for the last two months and a-half; and I will answer for the tranquillity of the capital, which, thanks to your assistance, I was enabled to establish.

"In resigning so onerous a burden, which I bore with courage and devotion, I must be allowed to remind you of the situation of the capital on the 25th of February. You know what it is to-day. The population of Paris was grateful for my efforts and the success which attended them. They have given me many proofs of their gratitude; especially by their suffrages at the elections. I render them my heartfelt thanks; and I beg them to believe, that I have never relaxed my efforts for an instant.

"Yesterday, in the National Assembly, I could only make incomplete replies to vague insinuations. I shall explain myself more fully, should the case require it.

"I cannot resign my functions without expressing my ardent wishes for the consolidation of your liberties, and the order that protects them; and without giving you, above all things, the assurance that, until I am replaced, I shall watch over your interests with the greatest solicitude.

"A well-organized police force is the mainspring of public security; it gives impulse to trade, confidence to capital, and consequently provides, more than any other department, work for the people,—for that people of Paris, whose welfare, and that of the Republic, was, I must own, and ever will be, the first object of my solicitude.

"The Prefect of Police,

"CAUSSIDIERE."

"*Paris*, 17*th May*, 1848.

At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, M. Recurt, the Minister of the Interior, arrived

at the Préfecture, accompanied by M. Trouvé-Chauvel, whom he presented to me as my successor.

I received these gentlemen with great politeness, and gave them all the information they desired.

After recommending different employés to the particular attention of the new Prefect, I requested him, on account of the pain I was suffering, and of the various accounts I had to settle, to allow me to sleep that night at the Préfecture. He consented, adding, that if I had no apartment ready to receive me, I might remain in the one I occupied.

I cannot understand why he afterwards sought to deny this simple act of politeness. Perhaps some honest *employé* had calumniated me to him, in the hope of getting into his good graces; but this is a matter of secondary consideration, and every one knows that ingratitude and treason find a genial soil in the Préfecture of Police.

Nevertheless, several persons employed therein, waited upon me to express their sympathy and good wishes towards me.

I had now regained my liberty. I was happy to find myself once more a simple citizen, after having rendered some service to the Revolution.

CHAPTER XV.

Budget of the Préfecture for 1848—The secret service money—Expenses during my administration—The red-book—Letter of M. Lamartine—The different departments of the Préfecture—The Board of Health—Duties of the Prefect of Police—Fieschi's affair—Letter of Boireau—The saviours of the country—The prisoners—The cellular system—Torments of prisoners—Noble Barbès!—The Ministry of Police—Provocation and prudence—M. Decazes—The political spies—M. Guizot—The conspiracies—*Sans regret et sans reproche*—The Democratic and Social Republic.

WHEN I entered the Préfecture of Police on the 24th February, I found that the estimates of the budget presented by M. Delessert on the 25th June, 1847, to cover the expenses of 1848, had been calculated at 10,954,730 francs, 75 centimes. The propositions of my predecessor had increased it to 11,139,538 francs, 61 centimes.

M. Coré, the cashier, had then 200,000 francs in hand, for the current expenses of the administration. He had also about 1000 francs remaining from the secret service money for the month of February.

Notwithstanding the unforeseen expenses necessitated by the new order of things, no extraordinary credit was demanded. The Préfecture went on for three months with the funds voted by the Government and the city of Paris; and yet, as I have before observed, it was very difficult to obtain the sums allowed for the expenses of the administration.

M. Dubois, who kept an account of receipts and expenses, one day expressed his astonishment to me that no extraordinary credit had been demanded, and that the sums heretofore allowed had sufficed. It is true that I caused the most minute returns to be made of the employment of the public money.

Before leaving the Préfecture, I settled the accounts of all, and assured myself that there was a fair balance in the bureau of the administration.

In addition, there was an annual sum of

270,000 francs allowed to the Prefect as secret-service money, or 22,500 francs per month.

These funds are placed entirely in the hands of the Prefect, who is only answerable for their appropriation to the Minister of the Interior. These funds are devoted to the payment of the secret agents, and to discharge any other expenses the Prefect may judge it advisable to incur.

This constitutes the Red Book. This book contains the numbers of the secret agents employed, but rarely their names. It consists of blank bills, which are filled up when required, and handed to the cashier for payment.

I need scarcely add, that when M. Delessert left the Préfecture, his register vanished with him.

It was through other sources, therefore, that I acquired the names of the wretches who, under the mask of patriotism, acted as spies upon our party.

On tho 24th February all that remained of the 22,500 francs for the month of February was

a sum of about 1000 francs, which I caused to be distributed among the wounded of February.

	fr.	cent.
In the month of March the cashier received only . . .	20,604	70
In April	22,500	0
In May	22,500	0
Total received . .	65,604	70
The expenses of the secret service amounted, during 85 days, to	27,430	08
Leaving on the 17th May a balance in hand of . .	fr. 38,174	62

I returned to M. Lamartine 1,940 francs of the 2000 he had given to Citizen Debray for the expedition to Italy, Debray never having carried out his plan. I subjoin the reply of M. Lamartine, because I think it honourable to him and to myself:—

"CITIZEN,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of the 1,940 francs you have returned me, they not having been employed in giving assistance to the Italians returning to their country.

"I shall place them in the hands of M. Bastide, the present minister, who will employ them as he thinks fit.

"I shall be very happy to see you after this storm, which takes you from us against my will, and I do not doubt that your character and your talents will recall you to the service of the Republic. In my opinion, it is greatly indebted to you.

"I shall always be ready, as I was yesterday, to be a witness in your favour, and your friend if you like. "LAMARTINE."

A last word respecting the Préfecture.

Different projects for simplifying the internal machinery of the administration had been submitted to me; time did not permit me to carry them out.

Generally speaking, and taking into consideration the state of affairs, the bureaux are well organized, but in many respects great and needless delay of business is observable. The signature of the Prefect is too often required for documents that do not need it.

Thus, every day I spent three or four hours

in signing papers, which was a loss of most valuable time. The archives and judicial documents are kept in the most admirable order. The Municipal Police is well organized. The public streets, however, require special and continual inspection. The markets, baking establishments, and everything connected with the food of the public, should be the object of constant attention. The dilution of wines, milk, and other liquors is easily done, and constant and vigilant inspection is requisite. The Board of Health, of which the Prefect of Police is President, ought to be an object of his greatest solicitude. I sincerely regretted that other affairs of a pressing nature prevented me from attending oftener the councils of this board. I pointed out to their attention the excellent qualities of river sand for the paving of the streets of Paris. The black mud which renders the streets so dirty after the slightest rain, is justly complained off. This is because the contractors supply sand taken from a mouldy soil, which, when it rains, rises to the surface and becomes mud. A sample of the sand, the superior qualities of which were acknowledged

was submitted to the civic authorities. I heard nothing more about it. I dwell upon this point because I think the filth of the streets might be remedied. I also purposed carrying out a plan for putting a stop to the abominable stenches that affect Paris at night.

The great problem in the projected ameliorations is to avoid increasing the budget. It is very difficult to persuade a municipal body to adopt a plan which would increase their expenses.

Projects are never wanting. They pour in daily, though some of them are scarcely practicable.

A Prefect of Police is obliged to grant a great many audiences. By seeing numbers of people he is kept informed of the state of public opinion, and learns the truth much better than through his immediate neighbourhood; and he thus acquires a keenness of observation which enables him to arrive at the exact truths of facts, and to distinguish their relative importance.

He ought,—and if he cannot find time himself, he should have an intelligent secretary to do it for him,—to give his attention to the

various reports that from time to time are handed in to him. Most of them are worthless, but by neglecting to read a single one, something of the highest importance may escape notice. I may quote the following fact in support of my reasoning:—

In 1835, at the time of Fieschi's attempt, a letter of very soiled appearance was thrown aside by the Prefect as not worth reading. That letter was written by Boireau, one of Fieschi's accomplices, and pointed out the individuals, the means that were to be employed, and the very house in which the infernal machine was placed. The letter was received on the eve of the design. It is evident, that if that letter had been read, measures would have been taken to prevent the attempt.

This letter was found long afterwards, after Boireau had made his confession in prison, and it saved his life, Louis Philippe having granted him a pardon.

This fact, to which many more might be added, proves beyond a doubt that every report should be scrupulously attended to. A Prefect

of Police must be a miser of his time, and not allow himself to be overwhelmed by solicitations. He must not hold out vain hopes; but petitioners are not at all times so abundant as they are immediately after a revolution.

After the 24th of February their name was legion. What numbers declared they had fought for and saved the country! Those who had the slightest claims were usually the most importunate, and they deprived me of many valuable hours.

As regards the prisons, it is necessary to stimulate the zeal of the inspectors. Instead of taking their reports for granted, it is indispensable to inquire into all the minutiæ of their statements, to inspect the quality of the provisions, to guard against dampness, and be wary of infection; and, above all, to organize labour. The lower price which is given for the work which leaves the prisons, and which, accordingly comes into disastrous competition with that of the free workman, is a grievance that might easily be avoided. But it is indispensable that some regular work should be

provided for prisoners, to keep them from idleness, which is beyond all things pernicious to them.

I paid a visit to the young prisoners of La Roquette, at the moment when their work had been taken from them by a decree of the Provisional Government on the demand of various classes of the working population. These children, who are condemned to the rigid solitary confinement of the cellular system, were all miserably mournful in their appearance.

The director explained to me that it was the want of employment that rendered them so. When they were occupied they were animated, and even gay. "If they were to remain," he said, "a few days longer without work, they would fall sick: some of them are already laid up," he added.

In fact, the greatest torment of a prison is the want of occupation.

I remember well how heavy the hours appeared to me when I was the inmate of a cell, where I had nothing to occupy me. The physical endurance was nothing compared to

the moral inanity in which my brain was plunged by this compulsory abstinence from active employment. There are moments of disgust of life quite insupportable.

I think of thee, noble Barbès, whose mind has retained its vigour and its elevated purity after ten years of captivity! Victim to thy patriotic feelings, thy friends will never forget thy chivalrous character. Nor will the people cease to remember the man who has suffered so much in their cause!

The Préfecture of Police ought to be raised to the rank of a ministry. This would be a wise step. It would render the information secure and more ample upon matters necessary to be known; and would prevent those continual squabbles between the police of the different ministries which are often detrimental to the public service.

A good police force is the best guarantee for public security.

It must not be turned into an agency of provocation, but remain an agency of prudence and foresight. "Forewarned, forearmed!"

A police of provocation is immoral, and

holds up to the derision and contempt of the citizens the Government that employs it, and all that are connected with it.

The Decazes ministry has never wiped away the stain of its provocative police.

Guizot's ministry had also its police of the same nature. The Delahoddes, Considères, Chenus, and such creatures organized conspiracies under the orders of M. Pinel, either in the army, which resulted in the transportation of some non-commissioned officers of the 90th of the line, and other regiments, to Algeria, or among the working classes, which compromised them in the manufacture of gunpowder and hand-grenades. Sometimes the agent himself was arrested, so as not to deprive him of the good opinion of his fellow-citizens; or else he remained out of the way for a certain time; and these apparent persecutions rendered him still more dangerous to the imprudent patriots in whose political opinions he feigned to participate.

The duty of a police of prudence and foresight, is to nip conspiracies in the bud by means of persuasion, or by force, if absolutely

necessary. It ought not to encourage a conspiracy in order to catch a greater number of victims. It is at times a dangerous game, and I could quote examples to show it.

However, that indiscretion which is one of the faults of the French character, soon causes every conspiracy of importance to transpire.

Here terminate the several phases of my administration, which I left without regret and without reproach, to return into the ranks of the army of the Democratic and Social Republic.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sobrier's House—The *Commune de Paris*—Rue Rivoli, No. 16—The old Civil List—Character of Sobrier—Twenty thousand francs for propagandism—Letter of M. Lamartine respecting the distribution of arms — Better to appeal to the Almighty than to his Saints—A body-guard of fifty men for the Minister of the Interior—Sobrier fortifies his house—Visit of General Courtais to Sobrier—Alarmed state of the *quartier*—Promise to disarm—The house of M. Bavoux—Fire to the powder-magazines—Doctrines and muskets—Letter of Commandant Caillaud to Sobrier—Sobrier's reply—The reactionists and the National Assembly — Sobrier organizes a military guard—Blouses and red sashes—Notifications—The eve of the 15th May—Character of the proposed demonstration — The 15th May — Sobrier at the Assembly—The Ministry of the Interior—Perplexity of M. Recurt—The Café of the Quai d'Orsay—Arrest of Sobrier—The dragoons' orders—"Let him remain!"—A brigand's retreat—Pillage of Sobrier's House—Robbery of money—Sobrier at Vincennes—The trials of the 15th May—Embarrassment of the Government—Generosity of Sobrier.

One of the men who excited the loudest reactionary clamour was decidedly Sobrier. It will be remembered that, entering with me

into the Préfecture as my colleague on the 24th of February, he left me at the end of three days; he then took up the journal *La Commune de Paris*, first started by Cahaigne early in May.

He had hired an apartment at No. 16, Rue de Rivoli, the property of the old civil list, and he there established the offices of his journal. He soon entered into connexion with various clubs of Paris, and with the revolutionists in the provinces.

A spirit of indefatigable activity, an ardent patriotic feeling, an inordinate desire to mix himself up with the events of the Revolution, added to a love of popularity, appeared to me to be the most powerful motives of his actions.

He was continually at the ministries, either to urge them onwards individually in the path of the revolution, or to point out the means which appeared to him the best adapted to ensure the triumph of democratic principles.

It has been said that he received funds from the police office to carry on his journal. The truth is, that he never received one centime of the secret service money, of which I was as

careful as of the sums allowed for the administration of the police. My only connexion with him arose out of friendly terms of good-fellowship. He had just inherited some property, and had set aside a sum of twenty thousand francs to propagate revolutionary principles.

It was with this money, and from the profits of his journal, that he defrayed the expenses of his household.

He was a man of keen discernment, and was quite alive to the schemes of the men of the old régime, and it was doubtless this knowledge that induced him to establish an armed force, which afterwards exposed him to the vengeance of his enemies: the desire of adding to his own importance had, perhaps, something to do with his taking this step.

However this may be, and notwithstanding the denials of M. Lamartine, whose memory may have played him false, he brought to the Préfecture, at the end of March, a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, authorizing me to give him arms and cartridges. Sobrier, aware that at this time the Préfecture was badly provided with arms, said,—

"You see, that by addressing one's self to the Almighty, a man obtains more than by appealing to his Saints; I have just left M. Lamartine, who gave me this letter, authorizing me to obtain arms and ammunition."

He added that he wished to arm some brave patriots, who were to keep guard round the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was already in danger; that they would be a guarantee for the safety of the public, and protect himself against a probable attack. Without appealing to Sobrier's acquaintances, the testimony of my secretary, and the captain of the armoury, who, as well as myself, had the order in their hands, will remove all doubt on the subject. If necessary, I am sure Sobrier himself would not hesitate to speak the truth in this matter.

I made a demand of arms and ammunition in virtue of the letter Sobrier had brought to me; but I took the precaution of retaining the greater portion of them at the Préfecture, for the different troops then under organization.

This order did not excite my surprise at a moment when all the ruling powers found themselves constrained to surround themselves

with a devoted and armed body of men. The Minister of the Interior had already established a body guard of fifty men, taken from the police. The other ministers were, more or less, guarded by citizens.

A short time afterwards General Courtais called upon Sobrier, to request him to withdraw his men, who were a cause of alarm to the neighbourhood. When about to leave, he was stopped at the gate by an intelligent functionary who refused to let him proceed without giving the pass-word.

The General was much hurt by this mistake of the man on duty.

I saw him afterwards at the Assembly, and he complained bitterly of the treatment he had met with, and of the alarm created in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries by the presence of armed men in Sobrier's house.—"I am told," he said to me, "that Sobrier's house is a branch of the police."

"It is a mistake," I replied, "Sobrier is invested with no powers of such a description. Orders from a high quarter, and threatening letters which he has received, alone authorize

him to put himself in this state of armed defence. However, I shall request him to disband his men."

In fact, on the next day, I sent Captain Souchet to tell him to dismiss the men on duty at that post; but he did not keep his word, that is to say, he merely contented himself with a promise, that what I required should be done.

At this juncture M. Bavoux, a representative of the people, who occupied the house adjoining Sobrier's, expressed to me the fear he experienced from so dangerous a neighbour; chance, he said, might set fire to the depôt of gunpowder, and blow up his house and those of the neighbourhood. These reasons were peremptory; and although I was quite aware that these fears arose rather from Sobrier's doctrines than from any dread of his muskets, I, nevertheless, ordered the immediate withdrawal of the picket furnished by the Préfecture, and the removal of the arms; at the same time, I recommended Caillaud to act with all proper courtesy, and he consequently wrote the following letter to Sobrier.

"MY DEAR SOBRIER,

"The duties of the Republican Guard becoming daily more onerous, from the number of posts they have to attend to, and their many public services, we regret to find ourselves obliged to withdraw the picket of the Rue de Rivoli, which has hitherto been placed at your disposal.

"Again, the men being fully organized, and certain considerations it being necessary to observe, the Prefect has been induced to take this step.

"I send the Adjutant-Major, who has instructions to order the men back to their barracks.

"*Salut et Fraternité.*

"CAILLAUD."

Sobrier replied,—

"If you persist in the decision you have taken to suppress my post, I shall submit to it, as to every other act of authority; but I warn you that this step hurts my feelings, and arouses my indignation, for I regard it as a proof of voluntary sympathy with the powers that be, whose tendencies are reactionary.

"You are entering upon a path, the length and dangers of which are not seen by you. The citizens who, like myself, have made up their mind on the present state of affairs, will stand by me, and if I wish for a guard of one hundred men I can have it. Will you suppress such a one?

"The history of these last days of ours is already written. It is not long since that you stood in need of me; we were both of us threatened, and you sent me men.

"I was recommended by the staff to strengthen my post.

"You now think that I alone am in danger, and you disarm me! 'Tis well!

"I should never have suspected you, Caillaud, of permitting yourself to be made the interpreter of such an order.

"SOBRIER."

If I had thought that Sobrier ran the slightest risk, I should not have deprived him of his guard.

The reactionary party were aware that they had gone too far on the 16th and 18th of April,

and that they would meet with inevitable defeat if they had the audacity to attempt any open hostile demonstration.

At this period the majority they commanded in the Assembly, gave them every hope on that score.

The guard was withdrawn; but, by a negligence which I was only made aware of afterwards, the arms were not brought back. Sobrier still fancying himself in danger of an attack from the reactionists, armed all the men employed on his journal, who, with himself, adopted a blouse and a red sash, like the Montaguards. His journal, *La Commune*, denounced all the intrigues of the royalists; and the name of Sobrier was always to be found at the bottom of leaders too piquant for many palates. He became the object of complaint of all the fearful; and afterwards they took ample revenge for the alarm he caused them.

On the eve of the 15th of May, he came to see me. I was in bed, very unwell, and suffering moreover from evil presentiments. Monier and Bobe, both secretaries at the Préfecture, were at my bedside. Sobrier reproached me

with not having seen that it was the object of the reactionists to disarm us. After exchanging a few words, he told me that he purposed being present at the demonstration of the morrow; that all would pass over quietly, and that he and his followers were most peaceably inclined; the object of the demonstration being simply to prove to the Assembly that the people desired an intervention in favour of Poland.

I explained to him, as also to others who called upon me in the course of the evening, the immense responsibility that would fall upon the leaders of the demonstration if any unforeseen disturbances should give it a different character.

He left me reiterating promises of the most assuring nature.

On the morrow, he was one of those who entered the hall, and was seen quite close to the President. Had he altered his mind? or was he carried along by the popular excitement? It is not for me to say.

It has been declared that, after the scene in the Assembly, he proceeded to the Ministry of

the Interior with some forty citizens. Many of them reached the cabinet of M. Récurt, then Minister, and informed him that the Assembly had been dissolved, and that the members of the Government had been changed. They seized upon the seals of office, and made a show of taking possession of the Ministry.

My secretary-general Monier, who at the moment was acting as my substitute, was transacting business with the Minister, who was dictating to him warrants for the arrest of Blanqui, Lacambre, and Flotte. On the entrance of the storming party, M. Récurt was greatly disconcerted, and tore the warrants to pieces before he left the room.

Meantime Sobrier, believing that his work was done, and forgetting the precept that in a revolution the foremost men can only stop at the gates of death, had entered a café on the Quai d'Orsay to get some refreshment. He there had the imprudence to give an account of the storming of the National Assembly, and of the Ministry, to some National Guards. These latter, who did not share his opinions,

made him a prisoner, and conveyed him to the nearest guard-house.

Shortly after, he was locked up in a room, and kept under the constant eye of two dragoons, who had strict orders to blow his brains out if any attempt from without should be made to rescue him. It was the Colonel of dragoons who gave that order.

It was not till the evening that I was made acquainted with the details of his arrest; and I replied, "As he has suffered himself to be caught, let him continue a prisoner"..... The speech was perhaps a harsh one, but I was furious at what had taken place. The democrats had just paved the way for repressive measures. It was necessary I should act as a magistrate, or resign at once.

On the same evening Sobrier's house was pointed out to the National Guards of Montmartre as the retreat of robbers. The National Guards entered it in a body, and, to use the expression of M. Bavoux, made a regular pillage of it. Every door was knocked in, the drawers of all the desks and bureaux

were forced, some hundred of francs and two or three watches were stolen; the cellar, and even those of some of the neighbouring houses, contributed to quench the thirst of the spoilers. Some forty unoffending men, who had offered no resistance to the assault, were taken first to the Préfecture, and then to the Luxembourg, where, however, they were immediately set at liberty.

Sobrier, now a prisoner at Vincennes, like many other victims of that day's events, has been awaiting for five months the result of a prosecution which is no small embarrassment to the Government.

This was the end of the journal *La Commune*, all the papers and registers of which were seized, and the famous guard which had caused so much anxiety to the timid spirits of the vicinity, was abolished. All the arms and ammunition were carried off and deposited in safe keeping.

Those who are not acquainted with Sobrier, regard him as a blood-thirsty and a dangerous man. He is nothing of the kind. Sobrier is a man of mild and impressible character—im-

passioned in his opinions, and perhaps too easily swayed by the impulse of the moment. He is a true friend of the unfortunate; his heart and his purse were always open to their necessities.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Fête de la Concorde—After the 15th May—The fêtes of the Monarchy—Rejoicings decreed—The people as spectators and actors—The rights of labour—Chef d'œuvres of the trades—The gilded horns—500 young maidens—The workmen of the Luxembourg—The first Revolution—Order and discipline — Five in the morning—The wreaths of flowers—Commencement of the march—The 86 banners of the Departments—The young girls strew flowers—The banquet on the Champ de Mars—The lilac tickets—Great confusion—No more water!—The Conservatory and the Minister of Commerce — The wounded of February and Ledru Rollin — The girls and Charles Blanc—The rod of Moses—The factotum of the Chamber—The ill-named fête—One month later!

THE famous *Fête de la Concorde*, the celebration of which had met with so many obstacles, came appropriately after the scenes of the 15th May.

Postponed from day to day, as we have stated it had the appearance of a fraternal

fusion, and of that unanimous enthusiasm which it might have commanded a short time before.

For the space of forty years, all the fêtes of the Monarchy had been organized on the same system. Reviews, theatres in the open air, May-poles, fireworks—the rejoicings were constantly ordered after a set pattern. The Republic would abandon this beaten track.

It was, forsooth, a new and happy idea to attempt to get up a fête exclusively popular, where the people were to be at the same time actors and spectators.

Had not the Republic of February headed its manifesto with the words "THE RIGHT TO LABOUR!"—"HONOUR TO THE WORKMAN!"

The fête of the 21st May was to be the fulfilment of that promise.

In fact, the different trades, under the direction of Charles Blanc, willingly offered their gratuitous assistance. Each of them produced a *chef d'œuvre* in their respective branches of industry, surrounding it with allegorical devices of rare elegance.

In this grand solemnity, all the artizans, all

the producers hitherto looked down upon by the powers that be, and the *bourgeois* aristocracy, were themselves to do the honours of the fête to the representatives of the nation and to the delegates of the departments.

How many sarcasms have there not been launched against the gilded horns of the bulls that drew the car of Liberty! How much absurd nonsense has there not been written on the subject of the five hundred young girls, daughters of the people, inaugurating the triumph of the Revolution! If it had been five hundred heiresses of the aristocracy or *bourgeoisie* to figure in some princely train, or to celebrate some high festival or nuptial ceremony, the spirit of it would have been praised to the skies, and the whole fête proclaimed beautiful!

But to select the daughters of the people to grace a fête—it was presumptuous!

The Minister of the Interior had nothing whatever to do with the selection of these young maidens. The delegates of the workmen of the Luxembourg had the exclusive management of everything, and it was they

alone who drew up the list; and this at once will set at rest all the malicious insinuations that have been made in this respect.

At all times, with the exception of the days of the first Revolution, every fête had been accompanied by its usual allowance of threats and blows from the Sergens-de-Ville and Municipal Guards; but in this popular festival, in which six hundred thousand persons participated, the people themselves, with the decorated of July and the wounded of February, sufficed to preserve order.

Two hundred men, with broad-brimmed grey beaver hats, and dressed in black, with a simple tricolor band round their arm, and no weapons, maintained order from the Bastille to the Champ de Mars, amidst this immense *cortège*.

The people understood that these men, like themselves, were sons of the people, and they obeyed them.

At five in the morning, at the various appointed stations, the preparations commenced on the Boulevards, and each trade might be seen adorning its *chef d'œuvre*.

The young maidens assembled at the Bourse, and at the Hôtel of the Ministry of Marine, to receive their crowns of flowers. The greater portion of them assuredly had not slept that night; many of them had not retired to rest, so engrossed were they with the importance of this ceremony.

Since four o'clock in the morning, the Champ de Mars had been thronged with great numbers of people. Many, however, doubted whether the fête would really take place,—so much so, that on the evening before, the workmen engaged in erecting the scaffoldings had refused to work,—and thus it happened, that at ten o'clock some of the trophies were not yet put up. The steps and amphitheatres near the Military School were far from finished.

Nevertheless, all the corporations that had been invited, and ladies in great numbers arrived, provided with tickets.

The Representatives of the Nation were at their post punctually at ten o'clock, and the procession at once commenced filing past them.

The conquerors of the Bastille, the decorated

of July, and the combatants of February, seemed to come with their colours to offer to the Republic the fruits of their common efforts for the acquisitions of Liberty.

Eighty-six standards, each representing a department of France, were conspicuous in the procession. Each car was followed by choruses of young girls, two or three hundred in number, singing patriotic hymns: and it was on arriving before the national representation that they paid a delicate mark of their love and their respect by strewing the flowers they carried, on the platform occupied by the representatives; and each representative felt it an honour to pick up one of the bouquets.

But the programme of the fête, so often modified, was very deficient, when that part of it which organized a fraternal banquet in the middle of the Champ de Mars came to be realized. Fancy a tent, containing a table capable of holding from eighty to one hundred guests, at which were to sit successively from eight to nine hundred deputies, three to four hundred mayors and their assistants of the neighbouring communes, the whole corps diploma-

tique, the different authorities of Paris and the adjoining departments, all the ladies bearing lilac tickets, to the number of some 1,500, finally, all the members of the Conservatoire, who had lent the charm of their talents to the ceremony.

The confusion consequent upon these defective arrangements was indescribable, and never was unseasonable parsimony more conspicuous.

At eleven o'clock the representatives sat down to table, and as the most strict and direct orders had been given to let no one enter, not a soul was to be admitted, not even the ladies.

But the tent of the banquet was besieged and carried on all sides, and so effectually, that there was not a morsel left for those who had figured in the *cortège* since six o'clock in the morning.

Even water was not to be had.

In this extremity, the ladies dying of hunger, the delegates of the provinces, every one in fact, demanded explanation and sustenance from the stewards.

The members of the Conservatoire complained to the Minister of Commerce, and

Citizen Flocon, with a gravity congenial to the occasion, was on the point of signing a draft for a barrel of fresh water.

The wounded of February appealed to Citizen Ledru Rollin, who, although a member of the Government, had no direct power in this case. The young maidens appealed to Citizen Charles Blanc, who expressed his sincere regret that he had not the rod of Moses wherewith to strike the rock. Finally, the intendant, the factotum of the Chamber, Citizen Degoussée, came to the assistance of the stewards, and everything arrived in abundance—just in time to be too late.

Thus terminated this festival, which cost more than 40,000*l.*, and which so well deserves the name of *Fête de la Concorde.*

A month afterwards the people had resumed their weapons to claim the legitimate results of February.

CHAPTER XVIII.

New elections in Paris—Eleven representatives to be elected—The 5th June—Popular agitation—The Clubs *en permanence*—The candidates of the press—Pamphlet in explanation of my acts—The mayoralty of the Hôtel de Ville—Electioneering manœuvres—The Garde Mobile—The workmen—The Republican Guard—M. Trouvé Chauvel—My declaration of principles—I visit twelve Clubs—My feelings and my sentiments—The Clubs of the National Palace and of the second arrondissement—The Club of the Riding-school of the Chaussée d'Antin—The galleries filled with elegant ladies—Gallantry of the National Assembly—The Club of the women—Initiation of the women in democracy—The bloodless Revolution—The Club of the Rue St. Antoine—Religious silence—The other popular Clubs—The Club of the Quay Jemnapes—Tears of joy—My trophies—The eleven representatives of Paris—I obtain 147,400 votes—The Mountain—Its Former and the Future—Proudhon—The *sapeur* of Socialism—Pierre Leroux—Lagrange—M. Goudchaux—M. Thiers—The king of royalism—The rule of the Presidency—M. Victor Hugo—My friends of the Mountain.

In consequence of the dismissal of M. Schmidt, the pretended workman—of the

resignations of Béranger, of the Monk Lacordaire, and of myself; and Citizens Dupont de l'Eure, Cavaignac, Marrast, Bastide, and others, having decided in favour of the Departments, Paris had to elect eleven new deputies. The day fixed for these elections was the 5th of June.

The capital was again agitated by the same movement that was manifest in April. The clubs declared themselves *en permanence* to hear the opinions of each candidate. Millions of electoral lists were distributed in Paris.

For some days there was a continual running to and fro. The different journals drew up lists of their own candidates, and warmly supported them.

Solicited by many of my friends to try and regain my seat, I entered the lists. I had just published a pamphlet, explaining all the duties I had to attend to as Prefect of Police, and the part I had taken in the events of the 18th of May. This pamphlet had a good effect.

The mayoralty of the Hôtel de Ville energetically supported its candidates, and left

nothing untried to ensure success; at the same time that it brought all its power into play to oppose the candidates hostile to it. It placed its official seal upon its lists to influence the electors; and on the other hand it hastened the ballotting of the Garde Mobile after distributing lists in their barracks.

In some of the *mairies*, the workmen who came to record their votes were constantly kept back.

When they presented a certificate from the Luxembourg, it was declared invalid; if they showed their diploma of the trade they be-belonged to, the date of it was too old.

They were on all occasions sent away with a view of disgusting them, and thus preventing them from voting.

On the 31st of May, the Prefect of Police, M. Trouvé Chauvel, wrote to the Mayor of Paris, to order the Republican Guard to inscribe their names, man for man, at the mayoralty, as they could not, as was formerly the case, give a collective vote.

I received letters from the different clubs, requesting me to attend their sittings, that I

might explain my official conduct and my political principles.

Since I had left the Préfecture, I had been confined to my bed. I had been regularly knocked up by the hard work of the last few days I had been in office. My leg was still much swollen, but nevertheless, I felt it was a duty to respond to the call of my fellow citizens.

I shall not enter into a description of the twelve clubs I visited. I had never attended meetings where the minds of the citizens are enlightened by discussion, and the conclusions of which might be of the greatest service to a Government. An indescribable sensation came over me, each time that I came before a different "public;" in default of oratorical talents, I drew my inspiration from the truth of facts and my own impressions. If the form varied, the substance remained the same. I made my *debût* at the club of the National Palace, and at the club of the mayoralty of the second arrondissement. The clear explanations I gave the electors satisfied them, and both adopted me as their candidate.

In the club of the riding school of the Chausée d'Antin, I was most strictly cross-questioned, and remained nearly two hours in the tribune. There were nearly two thousand citizens present. The gallery was filled with elegantly dressed ladies.

The National Assembly showed little gallantry in refusing to grant to ladies the permission of attending the clubs; at the same time, that their refusal was not consistent with the principle of sound civilization.

I am no partisan of a club of women, which appears to me useless; but would it not be well for women sometimes to come and instruct themselves in the serious affairs of life—in the interests of their family, so that they may in time be enabled to bring up their children in the principles in which modern society expects them to be grounded? This would not deprive them of their amiable qualities. They who are graceful by nature are too well aware that therein lies their power, to sacrifice it for pedantry and affectation.

Generally speaking, the citizens who meet to discuss political interests discourse upon

what they have thought or know something about; and I am not aware that on any occasion such paltry trash is heard as we hear nightly at many of our theatres.

How many husbands complain of the small amount of talent of their wives, and themselves blush as soon as a serious question is put to them!

If the great idea of social harmony, which is so intimately connected with politics, escapes the observation of the fair sex, is it their fault? Certainly not; they are the victims of a superficial education, one of the inconveniences of which is, the ignorance I now allude to.

Let women be initiated in the principles of democracy, and they will soon devote themselves to the furtherance of it in their families. The revolution of ideas would then be a bloodless one.

I had an ardent wish to repulse triumphantly every attack in that Assembly where the particular shade of opinion did not harmonize with mine.

I left, pouring down with perspiration, after being almost unanimously accepted as a candi-

date. It was a testimony of gratitude for the small services it had been in my power to render. I took it as a compliment, as it is quite certain my opinions did not work so powerfully in my favour as in the popular clubs I afterwards visited.

The club of the Rue St. Antoine was held in an immense hall, which was filled with citizens. Many of the fair sex were also present here.

I admired the religious silence with which the speakers that preceded me were listened to.

The applause was generally manifested when the orator had done speaking.

The same spirit of order prevailed at the clubs of the Chapelle St. Denis, of the Batignolles, of Montmartre, and of St. Mandé.

One word from the President sufficed to preserve order.

There I was in the midst of true friends, and I cannot express how I was affected by the sympathy they evinced for me.

The hearts of the electors and of the candidates were one. The clubs of the Ecole de Medicine, of the Salle St. Jean, and the Rue Bertin-poirée, consisting chiefly of the *bour-*

geois class of the population, honoured me with their unanimous suffrages. The Revolution had procured me new friends there; I may add, that the magistrate also found there his best recompense.

At the club of the Quai Jemmapes, there were, inside and outside, ten thousand citizens assembled. The tribune overlooked the Assembly. The eyes of all were fixed upon me. I recognized many ex-Montagnards among them; they had come to give their fraternal support to their old comrade.

I was so affected that my voice trembled, and I could scarcely articulate my words. I passed in review the three months of the Revolution, and I called upon my fellow-citizens to persevere in the propagation of democratic principles, the blessings of which would console the people for their past miseries.

A burst of applause ended this fraternal meeting.

It was some time before I could find my carriage. Tears of joy dimmed my vision. Oh! should the welfare of the people demand the sacrifice of my life, I shall be always ready to lay it down after days like those!

My readers will pardon me, for thus speaking of my recollection of the general sympathy that was manifested towards me It is all that remains to me now from those days of a crisis. They are my trophies; by placing them in perpetual remembrance, they will be a kind of guiding star, to lead me on for the remainder of my life in the path of harmony and social fraternity!

On the 8th of June the result of the election of the eleven candidates for Paris was proclaimed. I was returned by 147,400 votes; then came Citizens Moreau, Goudchaux, Changarnier, Thiers, Pierre Leroux, Victor Hugo, Louis Bonaparte, Lagrange, Boissel, and Proudhon. The three who after me obtained the greatest number of votes were Thoré, Kersausie, and Raspail.

Four socialist candidates were thus gained to the Mountain. This fraction of the Assembly has bright days in store. Little accustomed to parliamentary debates and to oratorical exigencies, it has not yet obtained the success that is reserved for it, as soon as it has organized its opposition, and shall establish its whole strength

on the interests of the people, of whom it is the chief representative.

It numbers eminent men enough to place it above the diatribes and envy of its adversaries.

Punctuality, order in debate, and frequent meetings, to keep alive the democratic spirit—such are the indispensable conditions to ensure success.

What more noble mission can citizens aspire to than that of establishing social harmony by equality and fraternity?

Let me say a word respecting the new representatives as orators.

Proudhon is a socialist and strong in paradox; he is the horror of the proprietor, whom he has frightened by the somewhat brutal form of his propositions. Gifted with a brilliant mind and talents not to be questioned, he does not always understand how to conform himself to the wants of his party, or rather he too often wishes to advance alone. He is subject to fits of despondency, which make him turn round upon his own supporters; in these moments of irritation against the infirmities of the species, he vulgarly exclaims against men, as though they

were as many nine-pins, without crying out "legs."

He is the *sapeur* of socialism. I, who love him sincerely for his qualities, may be allowed to remark, that a man can do nothing alone. The strong man must assist, and not deter his followers.

Pierre Leroux, whose name is better known to the literary world abroad than in France, has perhaps the fault of being too metaphorical in his speeches; from a want of precision he runs away from his subject and his argument.

Long speeches fatigue the listener, and are never so popular as more concise orations.

The purity of his intentions, and the spirit that pervades his works, have justly rendered him dear to the people.

Lagrange may be placed almost in the same category with Pierre Leroux, with regard to his sympathy with the people. He speaks too much of fraternity in the tribune, and the frequent use of this word deprives his speeches of effect upon the Assembly.

M. Goudchaux tendered his resignation, as Minister of Finance, within forty-eight hours

after the Revolution of February, because the Provisional Government desired the abolition of newspaper stamps, and free publication without a deposit of caution-money.

His calm eloquence reminds one of a spring of warm water. He is one of the heroes of finance, and will be minister again.

M. Thiers is M. Thiers, or rather he is the king of the royalists.

For a long time he has dreamt of the law of the cannon, and does not now conspire for a regency as many suppose; he sees it too far distant to think seriously about it. If he does not beat Cavaignac for the Presidency, he will endeavour to be appointed Minister, or, if need be, he will, although unseen, hold the reins, as he has been doing for some time past through his followers.

Victor Hugo has joined the reactionists. It would be as well if he were to examine thoroughly the principles of democracy, and it is not impossible that he may return honourably to his more liberal notions. Will time and the course of events assist this change?

I entered the political arena with the firm

resolution of adding my efforts to those of the Ministry. I took possession of my old seat in the midst of the friends of the Mountain, to obstruct the descent down which a great portion of the Assembly was sliding.

What I was doomed to witness made me suffer bitterly, for I held opinions.

CHAPTER XIX.

Louis Bonaparte—Ambition of the Pretender—His correspondence—The man of the Eagle—Nothingness of the Princ—Emeute of the 12th of June—M. Carlier, a provocative—General Clément Thomas—A pistol-shot—Excitement of the National Assembly—Motion of M. Lamartine—MM. Louis Blanc and Jules Favre—M. Ledru Rollin—MM. Pierre and Jerome—Admission of M. Louis—He starts as a candidate for the Presidency—Personal struggles—Civil war—The royalist-Bonapartists—The Henriquinquists—No President!—The National Workshops—Fifteen millions—M. Emile Thomas—Avowal of M. Trelat—Letters of MM. Garnier Pagès and Arago—M. Trelat, a prisoner—Panic of the *bourgeoisie*—Galley-slaves and idlers—Protests of the National workshops—Cultivation of the *Sologne*—Misery of the people—The clubs of despair—Street-orators—Terrible law against public meetings—Casting the net—Liberty violated—Two representatives arrested—The evening of the 22nd June—Great excitement—The Minister of War—Cavaignac—The troops sent out of Paris—Military conspiracy—Prelude to the days of June—The vanquished are sure to be in the wrong!

THE nomination of Louis Bonaparte as representative of the people excited the suscep-

tibilities of the Assembly at the same time that it attracted the attention of the Government to the ambitious views of this pretender.

His correspondence, read aloud to the Assembly, was not direct and to the purpose; it was quite evident that he accepted the Republic only as an unavoidable necessity of the moment.

The man of the Eagle was as before.

The National Assembly should have admitted him immediately to take his seat. The intelligent portion of the nation, perceiving the nothingness of this prince, would not have troubled themselves any more about him, whilst the prestige of the imperial name magnified his importance in the eyes of superficial people, who are never satisfied unless they have a master to flog them.

The danger was apparent as soon as a struggle with a pretender was in question. Thus, on the 10th and 13th June, many of the inquisitive crowded round the National Assembly to witness the arrival of Prince Louis Bonaparte.

The great man did not, however, make his

appearance. Nevertheless, the leaders of his party had organized a sort of propagandism in his favour; the dead uncle was resuscitated, and his military glory and his universal genius were canvassed.

On the 12th June a sort of *émeute* took place in the vicinity of the National Assembly.

The commission, informed that a demonstration was to take place in favour of Louis Bonaparte, had taken military precautions; M. Carlier and his agents were very busy in the crowd, some of them shouting "*Vive Napoleon!*"

These shouts, vociferated by some hundreds of individuals, caused a demonstration of the armed force much greater than the occasion demanded. General Clément Thomas, who was in command, drove back the crowd assembled on the Place de la Concorde. A pistol was discharged at him, which slightly wounded a National Guard in the head.

Some persons have accused the Executive Commission itself of having got up the demonstration. The presence of M. Carlier and his agents gave rise to the supposition that they

were there to goad on the people, so that the Assembly might procure a vote of banishment of the Prince.

The investigations I set on foot did not confirm all of these surmises.

Admitting the provocation, it is impossible at the same time to deny that a certain agitation was caused by the leaders, who were working with an eye to the future.

Whilst this was going on outside, the National Assembly was in a state of the utmost excitement, which proceeded from the same cause.

After a brilliant speech, Citizen Lamartine moved that a decree should be passed to retain the law of 1832 with respect to Louis Bonaparte. As soon as the decree was read, the whole Assembly rose like one man, shouting "*Vive la République!*" This incident for a moment caused a unanimity of opinion.

At the sitting of the following day the admission of Louis Bonaparte was again mooted, and supported, especially by Louis Blanc and Jules Favre, although on different grounds.

Many orators spoke for and against the

motion, among others Citizen Ledru Rollin. He pointed out logically the serious consequences which might result from the admission of a pretender, and the danger of civil war.

Pierre Bonaparte energetically declared his sincere love for the Republic.

"A democrat from father to son," he said; "I will never serve a democratic Republic under another form."

There was a sincerity and truth in the tone of his voice and in the appearance of the man during his speech, which it is as well to register.

Jerome Bonaparte, like a good cousin, undertook the defence of the Prince and demanded his admission to take his seat in the National Assembly, and after a lengthened debate the admission was granted.

To-day, the fact of Louis Bonaparte having been put in nomination for the Presidency of the Republic, is seriously agitated.

May the Almighty grant that these personal discussions, in which the interests of the country are completely lost sight of, may not

result in a civil war! Should this unhappily be the end, it is the duty of the democrats to abstain from taking any share in these personal quarrels. It would be their duty then to seize the reins of power with a firm hand, and so put a stop to ambitious pretensions which seek unnecessarily to deceive the over-credulous people.

To get rid of these sources of agitation brought into play by the Royalist-Bonapartists or Royalist-Henriquinquists, I repeat that the idea of a President must be relinquished, unless we wish to behold, sooner or later, the country relapsing into the errors of royalty in disguise.

The admission of M. Bonaparte reanimated the hopes of the reactionary party, who now boldly attacked the Executive Power, accusing it of weakness in its acts. One of the chief points of accusation was the existence of the national workshops, the organization of which they attributed to the Luxembourg; and the whole blame of which they threw upon the shoulders of Louis Blanc, who had nothing whatever to do with them.

The *personnel* of the direction of the national

workshops had been on a very large scale, and the expenses were estimated at fifteen million.

The reactionists pretended to look upon them as an army always at hand to thwart the decrees of the National Assembly.

One morning, the journals announced that M. Emile Thomas had been seized by order of the Government and conveyed to Bordeaux, there to be embarked on board a vessel of the State. It was rumoured that it was a *ruse* at bottom, and that the Executive Commission got him out of the way to prevent a *scandale*. Other organs of the press, on the contrary, contended that M. Emile Thomas having insisted upon the continuance of the national workshops, he had been removed to avoid a collision.

Citizen Taschereau, moreover, declared in the tribune, that there was a ministerial report, favourable, in every particular, to the management of the national workshops.

An unwarrantable and a dictatorial step had thus been taken against a public functionary. An explanation was demanded from M. Trélat, the Minister of Public Works. M. Trélat's

explanations were vague enough; they consisted in protesting, that Citizen Emile Thomas had, of his own free will, accepted the mission to organize labour in the Landes, a mission which had been given to him at his own instance, or from the influence of his friends. M. Trélat was, moreover, sorry to have to say, that his orders were always ill-received. He concluded as follows:—

"Citizen Thomas refused to accept the responsibility of the measures that were proposed to him. He even threatened to publish his reasons for such refusal."

If we place this avowal of the Minister of Public Works side by side with the letter of the 15th of May, addressed to M. Recurt, and bearing the signatures of Garnier Pagès and François Arago, which said, amongst other things, the following:—

"Offer to those workmen of the national workshops, from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, who are not married, an engagement in the army, and dismiss all those who refuse to enlist:—"

If, we say, we put these in conjunction

and comparison, might it not be presumed that the Executive Commission had proposed to M. Emile Thomas, measures which appeared to him to be brutal and dangerous?

The commission had reason to fear, that the opposition of M. Emile Thomas would lead him to make common cause with the workmen of the national workshops, and that he would be installed their leader.

In an explanatory letter, Citizen Emile Thomas speaks of services which he had rendered to the Government. In point of fact, he had endeavoured to make the national workshops adopt the electoral lists of the Hôtel de Ville. Many brigadiers have since asserted to me, that they were menaced with dismissal, if they did not make every endeavour to secure the adoption of the lists, drawn up by the directors of their respective brigades.

Such devotion surely was deserving of consideration from some members of the old Provisional Government!

However this may be, the sudden disappearance of their director caused some excitement in the workshops.

The Minister of Public Works paid them a visit, and was, in a manner of speaking, for two hours their prisoner. He endeavoured to give satisfactory explanations, but none of them believed his hypocritical verbiage.

The reactionary faction of the National Assembly, nevertheless, made a constant show of believing, that the commission wished to maintain the national workshops as something held up *in terrorem*, whilst the truth was, it was puzzling its brain how to manage their dissolution.

The *bourgeoisie* had been in a state of alarm for some time at the imagined composition of the workshops. Thus, if we are to believe certain organs of the reactionary party, out of 120,000 workmen, one-third were liberated galley-slaves, one-third idlers, or men incapable of doing anything, and the remaining third only half honest, that is to say, men not worth much, and whom it would be wise to distrust.

On their side, the workshops, indignant at these incessant attacks, which were so many

provocations, protested energetically against them through the medium of the journals.

Hitherto they had carried themselves calmly and inoffensively. Although the more intelligent saw that some of the works were inopportune, they nevertheless submitted that they might not be thrown out of bread. It was announced about this time, that a great number of workmen were to be sent into the Sologne, to drain marshes, and cultivate the waste lands of that district. The nature of the soil of the Sologne is such, that it causes miasma and fever to such an extent that it decimates the population.

The workmen declared that they were to be sent there to be got rid of, on the principle of the Government of July, which sent patriots to Algeria. They also fancied that, during their absence, the reactionists would attempt to re-establish the monarchy.

These various rumours created a commotion among them. On the other hand, the stagnation of business continued; the manufacturers employed but few hands; the general inactivity

gave the workmen leisure to discuss politics; the misery of the people was great, and caused large meetings on the public squares and in the streets, where they formed themselves into what has been justly styled "The Clubs of Despair."

These clubs or assemblages were held between the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin.

Men might be seen there who had adopted the blouse for the occasion, making violent speeches against the Republic, and exciting the people to revolt. These street-orators, as soon as they saw the people excited, went on their way to repeat the same language before other crowds, which proves that a small number of agents were capable, at a small expense, of keeping up a constant excitement in Paris.

For some evenings the meetings were so dense, that they completely stopped the public thoroughfare.

The authorities found it necessary to send out patrols, who only served to increase the crowd by attracting numbers of idlers to the spot.

The executive power demanded from the

National Assembly a terrible law against public meetings, a law only worthy of the worst days of the Restoration. This act was passed by a large majority.

The excitement of the people, however, increased. Bonaparte, Henri V., the Regency, the dissolution of the national workshops, all served as fuel to the excitement that prevailed. A storm was brewing, and—to quote a trivial expression I had made use of to define the state of affairs—the balloon was inflated to such an extent, that it threatened to burst every moment!

The authorities then determined, as a last resource, to surround these meetings with troops, and by such means make a general arrest.

Thus at a single cast of the net nine hundred persons, of both sexes, were caught and dragged to the Préfecture of the Police, where, during the whole night they were kept in the court-yard.

By this measure the leaders were certainly captured, but it was a violation of the liberty of unoffending persons, whose only motive for

attending these meetings was curiosity, or the fact of their living close at hand. Two representatives of the people were compelled to undergo the consequences of this drag of the net, which had been ordered by a law they themselves had voted.

It would have been much better, as I believe I observed on a former occasion, to place secret agents in the crowd, who would have kept close to the leaders, and arrested them afterwards at their own dwellings, without causing a disturbance in the streets.

Nevertheless, on the evening of the 22nd of June, the meeting did not take place on the boulevards. Some thousand workmen assembled in the vicinity of the Hôtel de Ville, where the fact that the dissolution of the national workshops had taken place, was repeated from mouth to mouth, and caused the greatest excitement.

The Executive Commission was informed that a storm was impending. Cavaignac, the Minister of War, who was consulted on the subject, declared that he had 25,000 troops ready to act. His forces had, however, been reduced by the

following changes made in the garrison of Paris.

On the 14th of June, the 53rd of the Line left for Laon; on the 15th of June the 21st of the Line was ordered to Orleans; on the 18th of June the 45th of the Line marched for Soissons. About the same time the 23rd Light Infantry had been ordered from Vincennes to Versailles, and the 34th of the Line had been ordered to Fontainebleau.

Was this removal of the troops to be attributed to a conspiracy said to exist in the army, in which two generals were reported to be implicated? I cannot say; but from whatever reason, on the 22nd of June, the garrison of Paris, at the outside, did not exceed 12,000 men.

The approaching struggle had been announced two or three days before by General Clément Thomas. The police of the ministry had been warned. The misery of the people, and the frustration of their hopes, were about to precipitate them upon a fatal struggle. Their claims, it was hoped, would be now finally put down. Of their own accord, the people bared its breast to the dagger!

The events that followed are still so recent and so rankling, that I dare scarcely draw even a light sketch of them. The history of the three days of June will, doubtless, appear at some later period in all its particulars.

The official reports that have hitherto been published, bear the stamp of partiality.

The vanquished are sure to be always in the wrong!

CHAPTER XX.

The evening of the 22nd June—The national workshops and M. Marie—The 23rd June—The first barricades—Apathy of the Government—General Cavaignac and the National Guard—Cannon and bloodshed—False rumours—Foreign gold—Pillage and conflagration—The Garde Mobile—Butchery of human beings—The insurrection of despair—Death to thieves—Utter want of organization—Chances of success—Social war and the Mountain—The meeting outside of Paris—M. Pascal Duprat and the state of siege—M. Sénard—The insurgents of Montmatre ask for me—My visit to General Cavaignac—Extraordinary agitation of the dictator—Our conversation—He issues a manifesto—Frenzy of M. Degousée—The insurrection is suppressed—The law of transportation—Threats and acts of revenge—*Sacr-r-r-r*—Informations and prosecutions—Results of the victory of the conservatives—The despotism of power—M. Recurt and General Perrot—The heart of M. Sénard—M. Cavaignac writing history—Passions, always passions.

On the evening of the 22nd June, the national workshops, threatened with disso-

lution, had sent a deputation to the Executive Committee, which had been very badly received by M. Marie. The delegates returned to their comrades, and informed them that M. Marie had stigmatized them as *canaille*, which gave rise to the greatest excitement.

At eleven o'clock on the 23rd of June, barricades were erected at the Porte Saint-Denis and in some of the faubourgs.

For three hours the Government allowed the insurrection to have its own way, without publishing a single order to the troops it had at its disposal.

No proclamation was issued to calm the agitation of the people.

Was it their wish to let the insurrection increase, that they might annihilate at one fell swoop the insurgent workmen?

The reactionists beheld the commencement of this rising of the people, without being much alarmed during the first day.

It was only when it had assumed a really threatening aspect, that the most serious accu-

sations were levelled on every side against the Government.

General Cavaignac, who had been invested by the National Assembly with the dictatorship, was accused of treason by the National Guard. "Why had not the insurrection been nipped in the bud? Why were not the engineers employed to blow up the Faubourg St. Antoine?" According to some, it was necessary to destroy that arrondissement to save the other eleven.

The cannon roared and the blood flowed in streams. It was no longer an outbreak, but an insurrection, such as Paris had never witnessed before. It is impossible to convey even a faint idea of the exaltation that pervaded the minds of the people; or to describe the general disorder that brought on this terrible civil conflict.

Republicans took up arms against the insurrection, convinced that the attack originated with Legitimist and Bonapartist agents. The report spread through their ranks, that the Republic was in danger—that foreign gold had

excited these disorders—that the barricades were manned by galley-slaves—and that pillage and incendiarism would be the inevitable results of their success.

The Gardes Mobiles, who were the offspring of the barricades of February, turned their arms against the barricades of June, and made the faubourgs run red with the blood of their kinsmen.

The generous sentiments of the French people were clouded. The demon of destruction had lighted the torch of war. The butchery of human beings continued, even after the victory.

What invincible courage was there not displayed in those three days? And yet the insurgents acted upon no organized plan, had no leaders to guide them.

The people, deceived and beholding unabated misery at their firesides, threw themselves into this insurrection of despair.

Whilst they were accused of pillage and incendiarism, their flags bore for their inscription, "Respect persons and property; death to thieves!" and they fought only for the

realization of a Democratic and Social Republic. Wherever they gained the upperhand they carried themselves with prudence and moderation. Their banner was not soiled by any act of dishonesty. They defended their rights even without the aid of the counsels of their elders in insurrection, whom they had not even made acquainted with their projects. They had intrenched themselves strongly, and they fought valiantly; but what proves the absence of any organized system, is the fact that many workmen hesitated how to proceed, and did not join the revolt. Again, no line of communication had been established between the different *quartiers*. There was no *ensemble*. The insurgents barricaded themselves, each in their own districts, instead of establishing their head-quarters at some central point of the city, so as to enable them to branch out in all directions.

The chief point, when an insurrection is meditated, should be to gain ground, and to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy. As long as it remains within its primitive limits it is sure to be annihilated; its chief

means of success lie in the extension of its operations.

It should always intercept the Boulevards and the quays, to prevent the advance of the military, and keep outposts to scour the outward Boulevards that surround Paris. I shall abstain from speaking of practical measures, lest it should be said I am giving advice to be acted upon on a future occasion.

This civil warfare astounded the Assembly, and especially the members of the Mountain. It was in the hall of the Assembly that I was first informed, that the temper of the public mind, which had agitated Paris for some days past, had taken the shape of an outbreak, for I no longer lived in the centre of the city, but had withdrawn to the house of a friend near the Barrière de l'Etoile, to accelerate my convalescence, and to devote myself to the study of certain questions which I had purposed bringing forward.

I was not, therefore, *au courant* of what was going on.

Nevertheless, I was greatly suprised at not having received any information on the subject.

I questioned such of my friends as I thought likely to be well informed, but like myself they knew nothing, and were lost in conjecture.

The day and evening of Friday were passed in the most painful anxiety. Versions most unfavourable to the insurgents were circulated in the Assembly, and calumnies which originated outside were exaggerated a hundred-fold within.

I offered to go to the insurgents, with some friends of the people, to hear their complaints, and, if possible, to quiet them. I, however, demanded a written warrant to that effect. Such a step was otherwise impossible. My offer was rejected. On the Saturday morning the disorder had increased; the Assembly was scarcely guarded by the troops of the line, who were dejected and worn out by fatigue.

It was reported that the insurrection was gaining ground, that the Faubourg St. Antoine was in possession of many pieces of artillery, and that the insurgents kept their ground on the left bank of the Seine. Fear was legibly written on the white countenances of many. It was even proposed to remove the sittings of

the Assembly outside of Paris! M. Pascal Duprat required that the city should be declared in a state of siege!

We energetically protested against such a step, and for a moment I feared a conflict would ensue within the walls of the Assembly between the Mountain and the reactionists.

The sitting was suspended.

I was then informed that the insurgents had selected me for their leader, and that my name was their rallying word.

I replied, that if I had commanded and organized the insurrection, I should at that moment have been in the midst of the insurgents, and not in the midst of their enemies! And, forsooth, besides the cowardice of such an act towards the people, would it not have been madness to have thus placed myself in the power of those whom I should have caused to be attacked? If I had been in communication with the insurgents, should I not on the Saturday have persuaded them to make an attack on the Assembly, and to seize upon the members of the Government and the representatives of reaction?

I do not mean this as a justification; the injustice of my enemies prevents me from attempting any such thing. As regards the people, as I have said before, if I had acted in concert with them, they would have beheld me upon the barricades, and I should have died there sooner than cede an inch of ground.

I merely wish to show what absurd conjectures private malice and political passions engender.

Towards the evening, M. Sénard announced that the Garde Mobile and the National Guard had obtained some advantage over the people, and that he hoped they would finish with the insurrection on the morrow. The sitting of the Assembly was consequently adjourned till the following day.

Sunday brought news that the insurgents were fast losing ground.

In the afternoon of that day a messenger came from the Mayor of Montmartre, requesting my presence, or a letter from me requiring the insurgents to lay down their arms. I replied that I was powerless, and that it was now too ate for my interference to be of any avail.

I requested Citizens J. Demontry and Signard to accompany me to the Presidency with this messenger, that he might be furnished with a proclamation of a nature to calm the excitement of the insurgents, and to induce them to leave the barricades.

On arriving at the Presidency we found assembled, General Cavaignac, M. Sénard, M. Degousée, and another representative, whose name I did not know.

We stated that the messenger required a letter from me if I would not attend personally, but that I did not think that either my presence or a letter from me would be of the slightest use in the present state of affairs. I added, that a proclamation promising oblivion of the past and pardon, was far more likely to be effectual.

M. Sénard replied, "that in my position he decidedly advised me not to take such a step as was demanded."

General Cavaignac, whose agitated countenance denoted some extraordinary struggle of the mind, then turned abruptly round towards me and said, "Who are you?"

"I am Caussidière."

"If you were not so good a Republican you would not be here."

"That may be, but I think it high time to put an end to the insurrection by conciliatory measures. Proclaim oblivion and pardon, and your voice will perhaps be listened to."

Citizens Demontry and Signard joined their supplications to mine, and General Cavaignac set about drawing up a proclamation.

As soon as he had written it, he read it aloud, whereupon M. Degousée declared with great vehemence, that no concessions ought to be made to rebels and assassins; he seemed intoxicated with rage, and he insisted so strongly, that the proclamation was modified into less merciful and fraternal expressions.

On the Monday the insurrection was suppressed. The people of the Faubourg St. Antoine ceased firing, to prevent greater miseries. I shall not speak here of the honours rendered to the Gardes Mobiles, who arrived with flags. All those incidents appear to me so deplorable that I leave to others the task of narrating them.

The Assembly was immediately engaged upon a law of repression or transportation. The expressions I heard drop around me during the first four and twenty hours of success, the joy I saw beaming in the countenances of the reactionists, induced me to stand up in favour of the vanquished, for many acts of violence were recorded, and fearful acts of vengeance were to be anticipated.

Twenty different times I attempted to address the Assembly, and each time I was prevented by the most furious clamour and gesticulations. I could no longer suppress my anger, and an energetic *sacr-r-r-r-r* half escaped my lips; indignation made me outstep parliamentary limits. I had no longer control over my words, and, amongst other things, I made use of an expression which has been wrongly interpreted: "You have," said I, "placed Paris in a state of siege, you have done well!" Those who heard me understood perfectly what my words meant, and that I had no intention of congratulating the Government upon an act of barbarity which I had feared would take place.

It was only the evening before that I had opposed the state of siege by every means in my power, regarding it as a disastrous precedent.

Blood had now ceased to flow, and now came the time for informations and prosecutions. Twelve thousand citizens were to be *casematé* under the protecting ægis of fraternity!

The results of the victory of reaction in those fatal days were, the state of siege, martial law, and the law of transportation, the commission of inquiry, the disarming of workmen, the closing of the clubs, the suppression of the popular journals; in a word, the violation of all liberties, and the sheer despotism of the strong hand.

It showed many in their true light, and caused as many to throw off their masks, so that they also were seen in their right colours.

Who directed the attack on the Place de la Bastille against the Faubourg St. Antoine?—M. Recurt, the physician of the Faubourg, with the assistance of General Perrot, the same who, on the 24th February, commanded

Paris against us in the name of King Louis Philippe!

Who demanded the state of siege and a dictatorship?—M. Duprat, formerly the editor of democratic journals!

Who supported the necessity for the vote of transportation? — Many Republicans, alas! whose names we have not the courage to mention!

Who has to boast of the idea of transporting the vanquished in this social warfare beyond the seas?—M. Sénard, who "found the measure in his own heart;" and who, whilst they were picking up the dead bodies in the Faubourg St. Antoine, regularly riddled and cut up by ball and grape, exclaimed with a theatrical air: "*Remerciez Dieu, Messieurs! Oh! que je suis heureux! Huissiers, battez le palais pour rassembler les représentans! Merci à Dieu!*" (Render thanks to God, gentlemen! Oh! how happy I am! Ushers, scour the palace to call the representatives together! The Lord be praised!)

And M. Cavaignac, the hero of June, dared to say from the tribune:

"NOUS FAISONS DE L'HISTOIRE!"

History, indeed! Here are great deeds and great names for the judgment of posterity!

"Passions — passions — always passions!" muttered Pierre Leroux.

CHAPTER XXI.

Motion to prosecute Louis Blanc—First order of Baron Portalis—Resignation of MM. Portalis, Landrin, and Lacrosse — Rage of M. Jules Favre — Conservative intrigues—Deputation from the Rue de Poitiers, to General Cavaignac—The dictator obeys the royalists—The name of Godefroy—The luxury of revenge—The Commission of Inquiry—M. Barrot and M. Bauchard—Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Caussidière—M. Barrot turned inquisitor—Journey of M. Jerome Bonaparte to Paris, under the reign of Louis Philippe—His interview with M. Marrast and other personages—His conversation with M. Barrot—The Orleans dynasty; the death of the king, a case in perspective—Report of the commission of inquiry — Terror of M. Bauchart — The Mountain and General Cavaignac—The stain of blood —He must be very miserable!—June and July—My visit to General Cavaignac—Curious conversation—My connexion with Citizen Ducoux—The eye of the police—The counter-Revolution—Councils of M. Portalis—When we shall have progressed as far as M Thiers—When the house shall have been burnt.

A FEW days after the events of the 15th of May, MM. Portalis and Landrin demanded

from the Chambers, an authorization to prosecute Louis Blanc.

These two members of the bar, ardent republicans after the days of February, had already given way before the reactionists, whose approbation they courted, and they now came forward in their capacity of magistrates to take the initiative in an accusation against one of their colleagues.

They founded their requisition on two chief points: that Louis Blanc had congratulated the *émeute*, on its attempt to reconquer the right of petition in full assembly; and that he had twice spoken during the *émeute*.

Notwithstanding their obstinate persistance during a very warm debate, the mysteries of the secret investigation not having been made known to the representatives of the people, the Chamber refused to authorize the prosecution.

M. C. Baron Portalis, and M. Landrin were highly indignant, and tendered their resignations. M. Lacrosse, who sided with them, also sent in his resignation as a member of the cabinet.

M. Jules Favre, who had supported the demand on the strength of a long-standing grudge to Louis Blanc, and who had moved that the accused be arrested without any preliminary explanations, left the Assembly in a furious rage.

The Assembly, however, in this instance, did not allow themselves to be swayed by the hostile feelings of the reactionists.

This, however, was not the case after the events of June.

The friends of the old *régime*, Royalists and Conservatives, launched out into violent menaces against the popular republic; and to turn their momentary triumph to account, they endeavoured to ensnare those representatives who possessed the sympathies of the insurgents.

A deputation of the Royalists of the Rue de Poitiers waited upon General Cavaignac, who then held the dictatorship in his hands. They intimated to him, that if orders were not given to prosecute certain representatives of the Mountain, they numbered two hundred deputies, ready to send in their resignations

and to retire to their departments, and that he might look to the consequences.

He might have replied, that justice was never imposed by force, and so have let them go their ways. The only consequence would have been the election of two hundred new representatives who would, perhaps, have been animated by a purer patriotism.

A rare opportunity presented itself to General Cavaignac, of throwing off the reactionary thraldom that encompassed him. But the dictator bowed to the will of the Royalists.

"Dear Godefroy, thy name, which was as an *auréole* to thy brother, had been bequeathed to him pure and undefiled by any concessions to the enemies of the Republic. Death, at least, spared thee a melancholy spectacle. The spirit of democracy has departed from thy family!"

The men of the Rue de Poitiers set about concerting measures to obtain their ends; their victory would not have been complete if they had not been enabled to heighten it with the sweets of revenge.

A commission of inquiry was established to ascertain the causes of the events of May and June. And yet, it was not difficult to ascertain those causes! The commission consisted of fourteen members, of which M. Odilon Barrot was President, and M. Bauchart reporter.

No democratic representative was admitted a member of the commission.

The labours of the commission lasted six weeks. Two hundred and seventeen depositions of evidence were taken down and printed in three large quarto volumes. Fifty-four pages were devoted to the conclusions drawn from the evidence, which was more or less honest. The most violent reactionary spirit dictated this report, which was founded on odious calumnies and on distorted facts. They went back to the 17th March; it would have been better to have gone back to the 21st of February. Three democratic representatives were chiefly accused, namely, Citizens Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Caussidière.

Like my colleagues in suspicion, I was called upon to give all the information I could

upon the subject. M. Odilon Barrot performed the part of *juge d'instruction.*

After the first two or three questions I observed to him, that his manner of interrogating made the Assembly rather an inquisition than a parliamentary court of inquiry.

He replied that he only questioned me with a view to procure information, the commission not having been appointed to judge its own colleagues. He should have added, "but to give them up!"

His bland appearance, in conjunction however with certain furtive glances, was not exactly a sight to inspire me with confidence.

I knew him to be a Royalist, and I called to mind a few words of his, which had made me doubt the sincerity of his political sentiments.

Although that reminiscence may be foreign to the contents of this chapter, it has, nevertheless, a certain connexion with the events of the day.

It is about three years and a half since that Jerome Bonaparte paid a visit to Paris, where he had an interview with various personages; he also endeavoured, through M. Joly, to pro-

cure an introduction to some Republicans. I was present with MM. Recurt and Grandmesnil, at an interview which took place at M. Joly's.

In the course of conversation, Prince Jerome told us that he had been very well received by M. Marrast of the *National*, and that he regretted to see the journal *La Réforme* constantly opposed to his cousin Louis.

"Do you not think," he said, "that if my cousin were to offer his sword to the cause, which the democrats are preparing to bring to that arbitrament, it would greatly tend to benefit them?"

"The name of your cousin," I replied, "would have its effect in the provinces, but it would meet with invincible opposition from the real and decided democrats; moreover, his two attempts, at Strasbourg and at Boulogne, have deprived him of all consideration as a military leader."

M. Jerome then added, that M. Odilon Barrat, whom he had seen, had said to him, "The Orléans dynasty is not liked, it may fall on the death of the king. Your cousin has com-

mitted some errors, but you, whose name is unsullied, might have a fair chance should the opportunity arrive."

But whatever may be thought of this curious overture of M. Barrot, I replied to the questions put to me by the Commission of Inquiry, rather as if I were conversing than as though I was under examination.

On the 3rd of August the famous report was at last read to the Assembly. This Royalist indictment throughout put the Revolution of February on its trial.

During the whole reading of this document, the Left continually gave its assertions a direct denial. M. Bauchart, violently called upon to furnish explanations, pretended that the Commission of Inquiry had mitigated the facts established by the evidence received, and on being asked what motive had prevented the publication of the documents; he replied cautiously, that it was to avoid recriminations, which were always disastrous.

The Assembly insisted on the publication of the documents, to be able to know the facts,

and the value to be set upon them: a feeling of extreme curiosity seemed to me to be the chief motive of this request.

The publication having been decided upon, I contented myself with demanding a delay of three days, that I might have time to produce documents to refute the accusations brought against me.

This report, however, which was so thoroughly impregnated with hatred and partiality, did not produce all the effect its authors had counted upon. A kind of shame made some feel that they had gone too far. Some representatives of the so-styled moderate faction waited upon me, and requested me not to embitter the public mind, by combating by reprisals, however just, the incriminations of the report, and to avoid kindling civil war in the very heart of the Assembly itself.

All sorts of special pleading were employed to induce us to confine ourselves to a simple statement of facts.

M. Bauchart, the reporter—doubtless, to render himself more interesting—begged me

through the medium of Representative Citizen Demosthenes Ollivier to engage my friends to restrain themselves, so far as he was concerned. He received daily, he said, anonymous letters threatening to put him to death.

I sent him back word that I had no assassins for friends, and that my friends always treated calumny with the contempt it deserved.

In the midst of these intestine dissensions, the majority of the National Assembly still gave its support to the President of the Executive power: the representatives of the Rue de Poitiers and of the Institut supported him on the strength of the concessions he had already made, and in the hope of others; the representatives of the Mountain in the faith that he would finally perceive his mistake, and that he would return to his former principles, after allowing full vent to the first outbursts of reaction.

"It is impossible," said the Mountain, "for General Cavaignac to annul the past; for many years he professed democratic principles, and his brother spoke of him with pride. He will some day feel the necessity of wiping out

the stain of blood with which circumstances have so fatally tarnished his name."

He must have suffered horribly, it was said, when he caused grape to be fired upon citizens who were carried away by the despair of misery, and by their devotion to the cause of the Republic.

These suppositions in his favour, and the melancholy cast of his countenance, procured him a sort of religious pity. Every one said to himself: "He must be very miserable."

About this time there was a vague rumour of a projected outbreak in July. The people, it was rumoured, wished to take their revenge. As the events of June, though foreseen, took the democratic representatives by surprise, I resolved to inform myself upon the subject, and set some of my friends to work to come at the truth.

Two agents of the secret police, not aware that I knew their number, came to act as spies upon my movements in the Salle des Pas Perdus, and their conversation made me suspect some provocative design.

My friends corroborated my suspicion by

informing me that rumours of an attack had been spread amongst the workmen, but that there seemed no inclination whatever to commence one.

I conjured them to visit all the *quartiers* of Paris, and to supplicate the people to resist all provocations, as the slightest *émeute* at this moment would have been a death-blow to the democratic party. At the same time I informed them of my intention of paying a visit to the chief of the Executive Power, to make him aware of our intentions. They approved of my resolution.

I waited, therefore, upon General Cavaignac, who received me in the most affable manner. He seemed sad and anxious.

"I am come," I said, "to inform you that reports of an outbreak are rife in the city. The 14th July is spoken of as the day fixed upon for a rising. My friends and myself fear some plot of the police. I have, therefore, waited upon you in their name and in my own, to protest against any attempt, and to inform you that we shall do all in our power to keep the people quiet. On your part, give orders,

if necessary, that the police may cease any attempt at getting up a disturbance."

"You will do well," he replied, "to prevent a movement, for it would be a death-blow to the Republic. The faubourgs are anything but quiet; it is only two days since that fifteen young men talked of assassinating me. The position of affairs is most critical, and the events of June are attributed to the Republicans."

"You are well aware," I replied, "that the Republicans had nothing whatever to do with the insurrection of June, accustomed though they be to affairs of that description. They did not conspire. If they had taken a hand in it, the whole transaction would have borne a different character."

I then told him that the Mountain and the Republican party were ready to support him to a man, if with the dictatorial power with which he was invested he would direct the affairs of the state in a more liberal spirit than was the case at that moment.

He replied: "My power is not so great as you suppose. The majority of the Assembly

have it all their own way. I am a mere instrument in their hands; in a fortnight I shall be used up. Moreover, you see that I rarely go to the Assembly, and that I take no pains to maintain myself in the post I now occupy."

After a few words on financial affairs, I left him. He asked me to come and see him again.

Thus my efforts to regain the President of the Executive Power to the cause of democracy failed, because of the state of apathy into which he seemed to have fallen.

I did not seek to recall the memory of his father, whom I was one of the last to see, and whose dying words were favourable to the cause of the people. I still behold in my imagination that noble countenance emaciated by care and suffering,—that head always occupied with the future welfare of his country, to which his last thoughts were devoted! Oh! I loved that man right well! He never deviated from the straight path!

I was aware that false friends of Godefroy Cavaignac invoked his name to abet fatal

measures, which, had he been alive, he would have disapproved of. I did not wish to imitate them even in a good cause.

A few days afterwards I saw the General again, to submit to his consideration a project of finance, which had been confided to me. He seemed to have revived somewhat, but with reactionary tendencies. If he did not commit a breach of the laws of politeness, I nevertheless thought I remarked that his manners were cold.

Our interview was short, and nothing transpired worthy of remark.

I perceived also that I was suspected.

Citizen Ducoux had just been appointed Prefect of Police, in the place of my successor, M. Trouvé-Chauvel.

He came up to me one day in the Salle des Pas Perdus, in the presence of some royalist representatives, and openly asked me to give him some information respecting the administration of the Préfecture. I willingly agreed, and in the presence of those gentlemen we appointed a meeting for the next day.

Great was their astonishment. After the

sitting they rushed to the Ministry of the Interior, and demanded from M. Sénard, then Minister, the dismissal of M. Ducoux, who was on good terms with Causidière. Did they fear that the police was going to fall once more into the hands of the Prefect of February?

The Minister of the Interior did not think it necessary to comply with their request; he merely promised to request M. Ducoux not to be on intimate terms with me. In this he succeeded so well, that Citizen Ducoux always vanished with great agility whenever he saw me approaching.

On every occasion of this sort it was a source of great amusement to me, for M. Sénard himself had informed me of the visit of the Royalists, and of their singular demand, the day after they waited upon him.

I was *au courant* of all the intrigues of the reactionists. I still kept a police-eye on all their movements, and held the clue to all their plots. The counter-revolution was making giant strides, and was soon to give a practical lesson of its gratitude to those, whose only

anxiety for some months had been to protect the vanquished, and to let them share equally with the victors.

The last quarto of the Commission of Inquiry had just been distributed. M. Marrast, the President of the Assembly, had fixed Friday, the 25th of August, for hearing the replies.

I remember, that shortly before the 25th of August, M. Portalis, who seemed to entertain a kind of affection for me, said to me—

"You would do well to solicit from the Government a mission abroad; they would give you one without a doubt."

I asked him the reason of this advice, which did not at all harmonize with my inclinations.

"Because," he replied, "whether with reason or not, they fear you, and they would be glad to get rid of you at any price."

"Nevertheless, I flatter myself that I am a good republican," I observed.

"Yes; but of too deep a colour."

On my objecting that every army had its

advanced posts, and that the Government was retrograding from the true spirit of the revolution, he added—

"When, however, we have arrived at M. Thiers, sooner than join him, we will rally round you."

He might just as well have added—

"When the house is burning, we will bring fire to put out the conflagration."

CHAPTER XXII.

The sitting of the 25th August—Speech of Ledru Rollin—The *rappel* on the 16th April—Declaration of Dictator Cavaignac—Defence of Louis Blanc—Prorogation of the sitting—Ten at night—M. Marrast—The tribune—Hallucinations—The inquisitorial tribunal—Psalms and breviaries—Good and bad—M. Corne, Procureur-général—Speech of Citizen Bac—Speech of Citizen Flocon—May and June—477—The Court of Assizes and the Council of War—The hostages of reaction—The tribunes of the Assembly—President Cavaignac and the Minister Marie—Five in the morning—Fargin Fayalle—M. L'Herbette—A night of judgments—The state of siege—Hopes for the future.

On the 25th of August, from an early hour in the morning, military precautions were taken, both inside and outside the National Assembly.

No person was allowed admission into the Salle des Pas Perdus, unless he belonged to the Assembly.

The sitting commenced at eleven o'clock, to hear the replies of the three members to the accusations brought against them by the Commission of Inquiry.

After the entreaties which had been made to us, not to kindle a brand of permanent discord in the Assembly, and to avoid the consequences of allowing myself to be carried away by my subject, I had drawn up a written statement of explanations. M. Lingay was kind enough to heighten and adorn with his talents these lucubrations, suggested by the report of the Commission. I was provided with a host of documents in refutation of the facts alleged against me.

Nearly eight hundred representatives were in their places. The tribunes were filled with spectators. The day promised to be a dramatic one.

The first portion of this sitting lasted till seven o'clock in the evening. It was occupied with various explanations by different repre-

sentatives, on the questions before the Assembly.

Citizen Ledru Rollin refuted, with brilliant eloquence, the attack made upon his administration whilst minister. He reminded the Assembly how, on the pretended attack of the workmen on the 16th of April, he had ordered the *rappel* to be beaten, and explained his acts as a member of the Executive Commission, and his display of oratorical talent was eminently fine. Notwithstanding that I was prejudiced against him, on account of certain points in his political conduct, I was deeply moved. In my opinion, no orator of the National Assembly had displayed such remarkable eloquence.

The Executive Power, having some lingering sense of shame, did not order a warrant of arrest against him. They durst not enter too deeply into the investigation concerning him; his acquittal was understood beforehand.

The President of the Council, M. Cavaignac, then ascended the tribune, and announced that the Government demanded an authorization to commence proceedings against Louis Blanc and

Caussidière. This was being explicit at any rate.

The explanations of Louis Blanc were most clear and precise. One by one he took up every accusation brought against him, and refuted, and piece by piece destroyed each, with wonderful logical power.

The heat of the room, and the fatigue of two hours' uninterrupted speaking, induced him to request a brief repose; this was taken advantage of to adjourn the sitting to half-past eight in the evening.

I observed that a great number of representatives did not pay the slightest attention to the explanations of Citizen Louis Blanc; each member seemed to say to himself, "Tell us as many fine things as you like, you will not be the less condemned."

At half-past eight the sitting was resumed; the tribunes were as much crowded as in the morning. Louis Blanc concluded his defence with a clearness and force worthy of a better result.

It was past ten at night when my turn to speak came. I had requested an adjournment

to the next day, but the Government had taken its measures, and wished to have it over at once. M. Marrast, the President of the Assembly, insisted upon the business being terminated that night.

His motion was put to the vote and carried by a majority.

My right plan would have been simply to place my explanations and justificatory documents upon the bureau of the President, and to demand their insertion in the *Moniteur*, with an energetic protest against the right of jurisdiction imposed by the royalists on the republicans, whose greatest fault in their eyes was, that they had always stood up for the interests of the people, as the first point to be considered.

The continuous state of excitement in which I had been living for the last week, with twelve hours of a fatiguing debate, had superinduced a complete moral prostration within me. Anger and disgust succeeded each other rapidly in my mind.

I had often mentally gone through all the accusations brought against me, and yet when

I was in the tribune my memory failed me; an invincible drowsiness came over me, and I felt the utmost indifference to everything around.

A prey to a kind of temporary hallucination, I thought I beheld in that Assembly a tribunal of the Inquisition. The semi-obscurity which pervaded the hall, a heavy atmosphere, and faces pale from fatigue, increased the deception. I mechanically commenced reading the enormous bundle of papers I had in my hand, which certainly deserved a better reader. I could scarcely see the writing, and I endeavoured to shake off the sort of stupor that was stealing over me.

At this moment, when my memory is clear, I remember that on this occasion I was drawling through my narrative as a priest would his breviary. I kept apostrophizing myself all the time, as follows: "Thy family and thy friends are in a state of anxiety; throw away those papers, and speak out like a man:—a bold unpremeditated speech will have a better effect than this drawling narrative."

In fact, once or twice I stopped reading, and

by a few energetic words, gained for a moment the attention of the Assembly, but I soon fell back into the torpor that enthralled me, and resumed the interminable manuscript. I suffered terribly that night. When I think of the success some of my speeches have obtained under certain circumstances, I ask myself how it happened, that with so much to say, I did not, according to my own estimation, act up to the exigencies of the case.

Opium and fatigue had paralyzed my powers.

I had looked forward to this day as a day of triumph, and I was chastised in my pride. I finished reading my defence, and added a few words to the following effect: "You wish to punish me because I have been too good-natured; you will end by making me the contrary. Am I really become malicious? Was it not in my power in this defence to have poured vitriol upon the hearts of my enemies? I have said that I should not imitate them in their *Saderies*; to speak ill of a man, is the next thing to calumny."

As soon as I had resumed my seat, M. Corne, the Procureur du Roi, ascended the

tribune and demanded an authorization of the Assembly to institute a prosecution against Citizens Louis Blanc and Caussidière. This was what the spirit of conciliation, which had been recommended to us a few days before, was to lead to.

The President pleaded the urgency of the motion, which was adopted.

It was then that Citizen Bac demanded leave to address the Assembly, and for more than an hour, with great warmth of feeling and admirable eloquence he spoke in defence of Louis Blanc. But this appeal, direct from the heart, was addressed to men who had already made up their minds, and had determined to turn a deaf ear to all that might be urged; so it was without effect.

Nearly five hundred members sanctioned by their vote a political iniquity, and granted the authorization to commence judicial proceedings against Citizen Louis Blanc for having addressed the people on the 15th May.

What the Assembly rejected in June they accepted in August. Two hundred and thirty-eight representatives protested against the act of accusation.

Citizen Flocon remembered on this occasion that for eighteen years we had marched under the same flag, and united our efforts to ensure the triumph of the cause of the Republic.

He spoke of my constant efforts, and of what I had suffered in the continual struggle I had had to maintain. He invoked the memory of my father, whose upright life had been one continued sacrifice to the good cause. This enunciation of Republican sentiments fell heavily on the ears of the royalists.

There were two points of accusation against me, one relative to the occurrences of the 15th May, the other to the events of June.

The number of voters was seven hundred and forty-five. Four hundred and seventy-seven voted for the prosecution, two hundred and sixty-eight against it. The authorization of trial by a military jurisdiction was rejected by ballot by four hundred and fifty-eight against, and two hundred and eighty-one for it, the number of voters being seven hundred and thirty-nine.

I therefore was amenable to the court of assizes only. They had spared me the honours of a court-martial.

Whilst the ballotting was going on, many of my friends came up to me and Louis Blanc, and begged us to leave Paris at once.

Their entreaties were pressing and their reasons conclusive. Without rendering any service to our cause, they said we should be only increasing the number of hostages already handed over to the reactionists.

It was difficult to say what might occur next; and I disliked running away from personal accusations. Would not my flight be turned to account to justify the prosecution instituted against us?

I was pacing the Salle de la Paix, turning the matter over in my mind, when I beheld the substitute of the Procureur-Général, complacently walking up and down, with a roll of papers under his arm and a business-like look about him, as if he were awaiting some order to be put into instant execution.

It struck me that we were to be arrested

on leaving the Assembly, and I went up to General Cavaignac, and asked him if we were soon to be arrested.

"I think not," he replied; "and if you would like a few days to arrange your private affairs, I promise you that you shall have them."

"I have just seen a man of the law," I said, "who has all the appearance of being prepared to perform some immediate duty. For the sake of my family, who are present, I should like to avoid an arrest in the hall of Assembly."

"I know nothing," he replied. "You had better speak to M. Marie; he will be able to give you the information you desire."

I put the same question to M. Marie, who met me with a gracious and jesuitical smile, which startled me, as I was perfectly aware that I was a regular bird of ill-omen to him; he replied, that no warrants had yet been drawn up, and that he did not think there was any intention that I should be arrested in the hall of Assembly.

His smile and his words were anything but reassuring. Might they not have had warrants ready prepared? My knowledge, thank God, in that respect, was quite sufficient.

At five in the morning I withdrew in the company of Citizen Fargin Fayalle, one of those men who always suddenly start up before one in moments of difficulty and danger.

Great was the anger of M. L'Herbette against the Executive Power, for not having ordered our arrest on the spot. It was worth the trouble, forsooth, he exclaimed, after having obtained the prosecution, to allow the accused to go where best suited their purposes!

This was the first occasion on which the sitting of the National Assembly lasted through the whole of the night.

This night of verdicts made a bad impression upon me. I had constantly been in search of harmony and fraternal concord, and at every step I had stumbled upon hatred and dissension.

I therefore followed the advice of my friends, by placing myself for a time beyond the reach

of the clutches of the Government, and beyond the state of siege, and I left with the hope still warm in my breast, of one day rendering service to the cause of social democracy.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE events of February having called me from the obscurity of private life, the remainder of my existence is due to that popular Revolution. The question is still to be decided, whether the nations in future are to combat with the weapons of reason.

How fondly after February did I cherish the belief, that we had entered upon the path of fraternal harmony. I urged onwards to it with all the energies of my nature; and indeed selfishness seemed to have disappeared from France. I placed confidence in the noble instincts and qualities of the human race. As a magistrate, it was one of my dreams—and the

best—that I should behold our noble city of Paris more splendid than ever; it had raised the first patriotic shout for the enfranchisement of the workman; its mission was to drive misery away from its doors.

The stranger who visited it would admire the neatness and elegance of the dwellings, even of the most humble, and its palaces would be devoted solely to the preservation of the master-pieces of art.

Yes, I had golden dreams! and to-day I behold only blood and misery!

Let us hope that this painful experience will serve as a guide to the next generation, and that it will be its pride and happiness to proclaim, as something to last for ever, Social Fraternity!

It is not too late even for ourselves to behold the triumphs of our principles! Let us be united and active in propagating them, that our flag may be recognized as the

rallying point for all the virtues which are the *decus et tutamen*, the grace and the security of every good citizen.

Be such our ambition. Let us endeavour to improve ourselves daily. Let us wage war upon our evil passions, and we shall soon be invited to attend the birth of a new system of society, which will be the glorious realization of the DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIAL REPUBLIC!

CAUSSIDIERE.

THE END.

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